

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LIV

1872

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away —MILTON

CALCUTTA

THOMAS S. SMITH, CITY PRESS, 12 BENTINCK STREET
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EDITORIAL NOTICE.

IN the April number of the *Calcutta Review* will be commenced a series of papers on *The Territorial Aristocracy of Bengal*. Each paper will contain a history of one or more of the great land-owning families of the province, derived from all accessible, published or unpublished, sources, together with, in some cases, an account of the past or present territorial possessions of the family. The series when complete will be republished in a suitable shape, and will form, it is hoped, a reliable and useful book of reference on every subject connected with the nobility and landed gentry of Bengal—somewhat similar in general design to the works of Sir Bernard Burke, which attempt to fulfil the same functions for the United Kingdom. The papers will be written by native and European scholars of high antiquarian and statistical acquirements, and will be edited by the Editor of this *Review*, who will thankfully receive any contributions or suggestions with which he may be favoured.

12, Bentinck Street }
January 1st, 1872. }

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ART I—NOTES ON THE ARABIC LANGUAGE

THE Arabic belongs to the Semitic family of languages, distinguished by the triliteral root. The chief cognate languages are the Hebrew, the Syriac, the Chaldaic, the Ethiopic, and the Phœnician. Of this family, the Arabic may fairly be considered the head, it is, in a way, the type and ground-form of all the Semitic languages. Its grammar is philosophically digested and well methodised. Its literature is highly cultivated and vastly developed. But the main points to which we wish to direct attention in this place are, (1) the copiousness of its vocabulary, perhaps unrivalled amongst the languages of the world, (2) the extent to which other languages—and we shall especially note the English—are indebted to its expressive forms. In this enquiry we hope to be able to indicate many points which have, we believe, eluded the observation of the received writers on Arabic philology.

In one direction, the exceeding richness of the Arabic language becomes so exuberant as to approach redundancy. It possesses multitudes of words to express the same thing, which point may be best illustrated by the fact that it offers a choice of a thousand words for 'camel,' about the same number for 'horse,' and about five hundred words each for 'sword' and 'tiger.' But the most valuable result of its copiousness is to be looked for in the fact that it possesses words expressive of the most minute differences of shades of meaning, in many cases where these distinctions do not admit of being indicated in any other language except by a long and obscure periphrasis. There is an admirable work by Tha'labí, entitled *Fiqhul Lughat* or *The Philosophy of the Lexicon*, otherwise called *Asrárul 'Arabía* or *the Mysteries of the Arabic*, which contains many illustrations of this assertion, and from which we will cull a few examples. The learned writer points out a curi-

ous series of nouns which indicate the *beginning* or the *first part* of various things. Thus —

بداشیر	(Tabáshir)	means	the beginning or dawn of morning
عسق	(Ghasaq)	„	first part of the night
وسمی	(Wasmí)	„	first droppings of a shower of rain
لباء	(Laba)	„	the milk milked first
سلاف	(Suláf)	„	the wine got from the first squeeze of the grapes.
بأكورة	(Bákura)	„	first fruit of a tree or garden
بكر	(Bíkr)	„	the first child of a man
بهل	(Nahl)	„	the first drink of water
نشوة	(Nashwa)	„	the first state of intoxication *
وخط	(Wakht)	„	the first state of growing grey or becoming hoary-headed
نعاس	(Nu'ás)	„	the first attack of sleep
اصهلال	(Istihlal)	„	the sound uttered by a new-born child
طليعة	(Talí'ah)	„	the first portion of an army or the van
عصفوان	(‘Unfurán)	} „	the first state of youth or blooming
رباع	(Rai'an)		
علواء	(Ghulawá)		
روق	(Rauq)		
مبيعة	(Mai'ah)		

Again there is to be found a class of nouns implying the same thing in its different conditions. For instance when the saliva is in the mouth it is called ربات *Rudhab*, but when it is ejected, it is called براق *Buzáq*. When fuel is burning it is called وقود *Waqud*, otherwise حطب *Hatab*. The sun when rising is called عرالة *Ghazála*, at other times شمس *Shams*. Again, there may be found a large number of *pairs* of words, one member of each pair being applied to an object when *large*, the other member to the same object when *small*. For instance —

A large tree is called	(شجر) <i>Shajar</i> , a small one	فيل <i>Faíl</i>
A „ date-tree	„ (نخل) <i>Nakhl</i> ,	„ اشاء <i>Ashá</i>
A „ bird	„ (طير) <i>Tair</i> ,	„ دحل <i>Dukhkhál</i>
A „ ant	„ (بمل) <i>Naml</i> ,	„ در <i>Dzarr</i>
A „ feather	„ (رئس) <i>Rish</i> ,	„ زغب <i>Zughb</i>
A „ rivulet	„ (نهر) <i>Nahr</i> ,	„ جدول <i>Jadwal</i>
A „ hillock	„ (جبل) <i>Jabal</i> ,	„ قرن <i>Qarn</i>
A „ boat	„ (سفينة) <i>Safína</i> ,	„ قارب <i>Qárib</i>

* The writer remembers to have seen, in a Slang Dictionary or some similar work, a series of English slang words expressing the various stages of intoxication. Possibly this Arabic word may be found amongst them

Again there are many words signifying various degrees of fatness in women, for instance, when a woman is moderately bulky with a fair proportion in her limbs, or delicacy, she is called رباحلة *Rabahla*, when she is increased in bulk, but not to the degree of ugliness, she is called سباحلة *Sabahla*, but if the bulkiness has rendered her ugly or awkward, she is called معاسه *Mufádhá*, and when she is stupendously huge, with protuberant and pendant fat, she is then عصاح *'Ifdhay*. So there are words indicating degrees of fatness in men also, a man is first لحيم *Lahim*, then شحيم *Shahim* then بلدح *Balandah*, and then عكوك *'Akkuk*.

There are again various words signifying various degrees of height and shortness in the size of man. For instance, when a man is moderately tall, he is called طويل *Tavíl*, and then طوال *Tuwál* but when he becomes too tall, he is then called شوب *Shaudzab*, or شوقب *Shauqab*. Again when he exceeds the latter degree also, he is called عشق *'Ashannat* or عشق *'Ashannaq*, and lastly, when the tallness in a man reaches the highest degree, he is then called عظم *'Anatnat*. And so in the degree of shortness, a dwarfish man is called دحاح *Dahdah*, then حبل *Hanbal*, then حربل *Hazanbal*, then حزاب *Hinzáb* or كهس *Kahmas*, then كحر *Bahtar* or حنر *Habtar*. But when a man is so dwarfish that when he sits among his companions he is almost invisible, he is then called حنتر *Jaitar* or حادل *Handal*. Finally when he is so short that his standing up does not increase his height, he is then called حرقرة *Hinziqra*.

There are multitudes of words showing the different degrees of bravery and timidity. For instance a timid man in the lowest degree is called حان *Jabán*, then هنانه *Hayyaba*, then مفود *Mafud*, then ورع or ورع *Wara'* or *Dhara'*, then هاعلاع *Há'lá'*. So a brave man is called شجاع *Shujá'*, then نطل *Batal*, then صمة *Çimma*, then دمر *Dzimmar*, then نكل *Nahal*, then نهيك *Nahík*, then صحر *Mihab*, then حلس *Halbas*, then احييس *Ahyas*, or اليس *Alyas*, and lastly عشمشم *Ghashamsham* or اشم *Asham*.

There are different names for different kinds of wealth or property. An inherited property is called تلالد *Tilád*, تالد *Táhd* or ليد *Taléd*, an acquired one is called مستطرف *Mustatryf*, طارف *Táryf*, طريف *Taríf*, or مطرف *Mutarraf*, wealth buried under the ground is ركار *Rikáz*, and when the same is not expected to be recovered, it is then دمار *Dhumár*. When it is in gold or silver, it is called صامت *Çámet* or "mute," and when it is in cattle, sheep, camels, &c., it is then ناطق *Nátuq*, or "speaking." When the same is immovable, yielding hire or rent, it is called عمار *'Aqár*.

There are words implying different degrees of poverty as well as of riches. A man is *معلس* *Muflis*, then *معدم* *Mu'dim*, then *مملق* *Mumliq*, then *مدقع* *Mudqi'*, then *مسكن* *Miskin*, and lastly *فقير* *Faqir*. On the other hand, the lowest degree of richness is indicated by *كفاف* *Kafáf*, then *غنى* *Ghná*, then *ثروة* *Tharwat*, then *اكثار* *Ikthár*, then *اثراب* *Itráb*, and lastly *قنطرة* *Qantara*.

There are distinct words implying a human being in his different stages of age. For instance, a child when in the womb is called *حيدى* *Janín*, when he is born, he is then called *ولد* *Walíd*, when sucking, he is called *رضيع* *Radhí'*, when weaned, he is *مطم* *Fatim*, when he is able to walk, he is called *دارح* *Dáry*, when he is in length about five spans, he is then *حماسي* *Khumasí*. Again, when his first teeth are shed, he is called *منعور* *Mathghur*, and when again his new teeth have appeared, he is *منعر* *Muththaghur*. When he is above 10 years, he is *مترعرع* *Mutara'ri'* or *ناشع* *Náshi*, and when he is approaching the age of puberty, he is *مراهق* *Muráhuq* or *ناع* *Yáfi'*. But during all these conditions, he is called by the general denomination *غلام* *Ghulám* or boy. Again when he is a perfectly developed young man, he is called *فتى* *Fatá* or *شارح* *Shárikh*, but when he reaches the highest degree of blooming youth, he is then *مجنع* *Mujtamí'*, afterwards, when his age is between 30 and 40, he is called *شاب* *Shabb*. Then from that age up to 60 he is *كهل* *Kahal*. Then he is *شيخ* *Shaikh*, then *كبير* *Kabir*, then *هرم* *Harim*, and finally *حرف* *Kharif*, which is Shakspeare's—

Second childishness and mere oblivion
Sans teeth sans eyes, sans taste sans everything

On the other hand, the female is at first *طفلة* *Tafta*, when she is an infant, and then *وليدة* *Walida*, then *كعب* *Ku'ib*, then *ناهد* *Náhud*, then *عانس* *'Ans*, then *خود* *Khaud*, when she has reached the middle of her youth, she is *مسلف* *musluf* when she is above forty, and then *شهوة* *Shahlat*, or *كهلة* *Kahlat*, then *شهيرة* *Shahbara*, or *حيزبون* *Haizabun*, and lastly *قلع* *Qal'am*.

Again there are words indicating different degrees of beauty in woman. For instance, a beautiful woman is called *جميلة* *Jamíla* or *وصيلة* *Wadhíá*, but when she is so beautiful that she is independent of ornament on account of her natural beauty, she is called *عانية* *Gháma*. Again, when she, being extremely handsome, is very indifferent about dress and other artificial decorations, then she is *معطال* *Mi'tál*, when her beauty is constant, she is *وسمة* *Wasíma*, and again, when she is blessed with abundance of beauty, she is *قسمة* *Qasíma*.

Qasíma, and lastly, when her beauty is absolutely transcendent, she is called رواء *Raw'áu*. Moreover, there are distinct or separate words for the beauties in different members of the human body, which would have delighted Homer as epithets for his deities and heroes.

Again there are different words for the sewing of different things. For instance, خات *Kháta* denotes sewing of clothes, while حرر *Kharaza* implies sewing of stockings, حصف *Khaṣafa* denotes sewing of shoes, كب *Kataba* that of water-skins, and حاص *Háṣa* sewing leather or the eyes of the hawk.

We have now said enough to prove the extraordinary delicacy of the Arabic language, and the singularly minute differences of meaning which can be indicated therein by the change of a single word. To the student who wishes to pursue the subject, we would recommend the perusal of the work mentioned above, and also of the *Fiqhul Lughat* by Ibní Faris Abul Husain Ahmadul Qazwíní (d 395 A. H.).

A most striking proof of the copiousness of the Arabic language is to be found in the fact, that most words of this most philosophical language are such that all words formed therefrom by *permutation* (i. e., all possible arrangements of the radical letters) are significant. For instance the word قلب *qalb* meaning *heart* has three radical letters. By *permutation* there can be formed other five words each of them being significant, viz.

بعل *Baqa*, "herb"

بلق *Balaq*, "of a black and white colour"

لقب *Laqab* "appellation"

قبل *Qabl*, "before"

لقب *Labaq*, "talkativeness"

In clearness and simplicity of construction, the Arabic compares favourably with most other languages, it clearly excels, we believe, most languages of the Aryan stock in these respects. One thing that conduces much to this end, is its possession of certain fixed models called *Bábs*, by which multitudes of verbs of various roots are moulded into the same general form. The conjugation of the Arabic verb is highly inflectional, differing herein from the Persian, and from the modern form of the English and of most of the other Aryan tongues. Pronouns too are often implied in the verbs, hence a sentence may be formed simply by a verb, thus *qatala* (قتل) is equivalent to *huwa qatala* (هو قتل) he killed. Besides a complete sentence may be formed simply with two nouns, one being the subject and the other the predicate, without the intervention of the copula. These peculiarities of construction give the Arabic

that clearness coupled with conciseness, which is observable (though not, we think, to the same extent) in the classical languages of the Aryan family

Further in this language peculiar forms are fixed for different classes of nouns and adjectives indicating peculiar meanings. For instance, the nouns of the form *maf'alum* (مفعول) signify place or time of action, these of the forms *mif'alun* (مفعول), *mif'alatun* (مفعلة), *mif'alun* (مفعال), and *fi'alun* (فعال), indicate the instrument or medium of action. So the nouns of the form *fu'alun* (فعلال) generally imply disease, sickness, or ailment, while those of the form *fa'ulun* (فعلول) signify medicines. Again nouns of the form *fa'ilun* (فعليل), and *fu'lu'an* (فعلال), imply different sounds

Similarly, one of the most striking peculiarities of Arabic is the possession of numerous forms of derivative verbs. When a primitive verb assumes one of these forms, it assumes also a definite additional meaning

One of these formal peculiarities is this, that sometimes a verb is formed out of a sentence by way of abbreviation, as *hallala* (هَلَّلَا) he uttered *لا اله الا الله* "there is no god but God," *istarja'a* (اسْتَرْجَعَ) he uttered *إِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ* "verily we are of God and verily we are to return to Him," *haulaga* (حَوَّلَا) he uttered *نَالَهُ الْعَلِيَّ الْعَظِيمَ* "there is no strength or power but with God, the most High and Great," *dam'aza* (دَمَعَ) he uttered *أَدَامَ اللّٰهُ عَرْكَ* "may God preserve thy honour," &c. Through these formal peculiarities, long sentiments are expressed in very few words. For instance *أَحْرُوبُ الشَّاءَ* "the sheep brought forth young ones at the season of autumn." Besides these, many other advantages can be drawn from the peculiar forms of verbs

The intimate radical connexion of the Sanskrit with the other Aryan languages is of course an obvious one, and every scholar is well acquainted with the wonders which have been wrought in modern philology by the labours of European and Oriental Sanskritists. But the careful and critical study of comparative philology, in the modern scientific spirit, has been hitherto almost confined to the elaboration of the comparative philology of the Indo-European family of languages alone, little has been done in the elucidation of the wider generalisations that may be established by a scientific investigation of the analogies between the Semitic and the Aryan tongues. We propose to devote the remainder of this paper to some introductory suggestions and examples, which may at any rate serve the purpose of inducing other orientalist to take up a subject which we believe to be of the highest scientific importance, and which possesses much of the charm of novelty. Our attempt is necessarily, in the present state of the science, merely a tentative

one, and the examples which we proffer—the jottings of many years of careful attention to the subject—are put forward with much diffidence, and in the hope of evoking criticism and discussion amongst scholars, rather than with any wish to dogmatize.

Weber, in his *Indische Skizzen*, has casually drawn attention to the many striking similarities between the mythology of the Semitic races and that of the Aryans. He instances the conception of a *Manu*,* a primeval man and common ancestor, and of a great flood which destroyed and swallowed up all things, and from which this one man alone was saved. But he does not pursue the subject further. He adds—“these are, with other “proofs *mainly etymological*, grounds for considering that at a very “early period the Semites were united with the Indo-European “races, though they must have separated before the common “language attained any marked character.” Weber, however, does not give any of the etymological proofs to which he refers, and we are not aware that any other orientalist has attempted a careful investigation of the subject. That the radical analogies between the Aryan and Semitic languages are much more numerous and striking than they are generally supposed to be—or, at any rate, than they have hitherto been shewn to be by writers on comparative philology—we shall endeavour to prove by a comparison of the Arabic and English.

Donaldson says,† with regard to the study of the comparative philology of the Aryan languages,—“This reproduction of the common mother of our family of languages, by a comparison of the features of all her children, is the great general object to which the efforts of the philologist should be directed, and thus, and not a mere derivation of words in the same language from one another, constitutes the etymology that is alone worthy of the name.” How much worthier and nobler will that etymology be, which seeks to evolve the primeval common mother of *all* languages, by a comparison of the radical analogies between the various families!

The compilation of the list given below has not been the work of a day, and yet, even now, it is hardly safe to attempt to distinguish the analogies which are the proofs of a common primeval language from those which have been produced by scientific and commercial intercourse in comparatively modern times. The

* The story of *Nuh* (نوح) and the Deluge is substantially the same in the Qoran and in the Pentateuch of Moses. For a discussion of the stories of *Manu* and the *Rishis*, and of *Deukalion* and *Pyrria* see Cox on the *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, Vol I, p 414, and Vol II, pp 87 and 210. Mr Cox also devotes a curious chapter to a comparison of the Aryan and the Semitic notions of the Devil.

† *New Cratylus*, Preface.

Arabic, being a language which attained an early development, and one which was long written in and spoken by races of an intellectual cultivation and an enterprising spirit far in advance of their age, has undoubtedly supplied multitudes of words to the languages of the West by the direct method of adoption and naturalisation. It has done the same more obviously and openly, as every one knows, for many oriental languages, such as the Persian, the Hindustani, the Turkish, the Malay, and the technical terminology of some branches of science, and of some branches of commerce, is mainly drawn from Arabic in most of the well-known languages of Europe and Asia. Many of the analogies set forth in the following list may doubtless be proved to have originated in this way, and many more are due to the fact that this borrowing from the copious and expressive vocabulary of the Arabic has been carried on for centuries in the languages of the West—in the Spanish especially, which partly grew up under the shadow of the Arab rule in Spain—to a large extent in the Italian, French, and other languages of the Mediterranean shore—perhaps even in the classical languages themselves of Greece and Rome.

List of words common to the Arabic and the English, having absolutely or very nearly the same meaning in both languages

ARABIC	ENGLISH
ايد <i>aid</i>	<i>Aid</i> ¹
<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> الزرنيخ or الزريق </div>	Arsenic ²
<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> } </div>	
امير البحر <i>amir ulbahr</i> ,	Admiral (Spanish <i>Almirante</i>)
* القاصي	Alcaid ³
<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> or العائد </div>	
<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> } </div>	Absorb ⁴
شرب <i>shurb</i> ,	

¹ *Aid* is of course the French *aider* and this appears to have been derived from the Latin *adjutare* (*adjutare*, *adjutum*) through the Provençal forms *adjudar*, *ajudar*, *aidar*. If the similarity between the Arabic and the western forms be an accidental coincidence, it is a very remarkable one.

² *Arsenic* is the Greek *ἀρσενικόν*, used in this sense by Galen. Whoever first used this word, undoubtedly regarded it as a derivative of *ἄρσεν*, from the root *ar*—(the Sanscrit *ari*)—found in *ἄρσ*, *ἥρως*, *war*, *wehr*, *vir*, *virtus* and many other words in the Indo-European languages, and indicating “strength” or “protection.” It appears, however, highly probable (considering how much Arabic has every where entered into chemical terminology) that *ἀρσενικόν* was in reality merely a corruption of the Arabic.

³ This is of course a Spanish word, like the preceding, and doubtless dates from the Moorish occupation of Spain.

⁴ From the Latin *sorbeo*. Probably both the Arabic and Latin were formed by onomatopœia; compare the German *schlurfen*, and the Greek *ροφᾶω*.

ARABIC	ENGLISH
also شراب <i>sharáb</i> ,	Syrup
أمن <i>ámín</i> ,	Amen (<i>Hebrew</i>)
الكيمياء <i>alkímíyá</i> ,	Alchemy ¹
القبة <i>alqubba</i> ,	Alcove ²
الأنبيق <i>alimbíq</i> ,	Alembic ³
عشر <i>'ambar</i> ,	Amber ⁴
الكحل <i>alkuhl</i> ,	Alcohol
اطلس <i>atlas</i> ,	Atlas
دارالصناعة <i>dáruṣṣaná'a</i> ,	Arsenal ⁵
الجبرة <i>aljabra</i> ,	Algebra ⁶
ياقوت <i>yáqut</i> ,	Agate ⁷
دراية or درانه <i>diráyat, addu ayát,*</i>	Adroit ⁸
عليل <i>'alil</i> ,	Ail ⁹
القلي <i>alqalí</i> ,	Alkali
عاجل <i>ájul</i> ,	Agile ¹⁰
آنا <i>ánan</i> ,	Anon ¹¹
بيع <i>bai' or bai'un</i>	Buy ¹
بر or دصاء <i>baz</i> ,	Baize
بق <i>baq,†</i>	Bug ¹³
ميمون <i>maimun</i> ,	Baboon ¹⁴
بلسان <i>balasan</i> ,	Balsam ¹⁵
بئس <i>bais</i> ,	Base ¹⁶

* It means in Arabic *intelligence* which is akin to the meaning of the English word

† It means *mosquito* as generally known but it also means a *bug*

¹ The late Greek *ἀρχημία*

² The Spanish *alcoba*

³ The Spanish *alambique*

⁴ Wedgwood well notes on this word, that it is singular that a substance coming from so small a number of places should have had so many different names. It is still more curious that the Greek and Latin roots (*ἡλεκτρον, succinum*) should have entirely given place to the Arabic in most of the languages of modern Europe. Compare the French *ambre*, the Italian *ambra* the Spanish and Portuguese *ambar alambar alambre*.

⁵ The Spanish is *atarazana, atana-anal* the Italian *arzana, tarzana, darsena*.

⁶ The Spanish *algebra* is also used in the sense of putting together or setting broken or dislocated limbs.

⁷ The Latin *achates* the Greek *ἀχάτης*

⁸ The French *adroit*, from *droit* (*dexter*)

⁹ The Anglo Saxon *eqlian*, from *eyle* troublesome, Gothic *aglo* affliction

¹⁰ Latin *agilis* from *ago* *ἄγω*

¹¹ Usually derived from the Anglo Saxon *on an* in one, in a moment

¹² Apparently the Anglo Saxon *bycgan*

¹³ Compare the Welsh *bwear*, either a maggot or a "bug bear," and the Russian *buka* with a similar meaning

¹⁴ The French *babouin*, the Italian *babuino* usually derived from *ba*, the sound made by the collision of the lips which is somewhat far fetched

¹⁵ The Latin *balsamum*, the Greek *βάλσαμον*

¹⁶ The Latin *bassus*, Greek *βάσις* (*βαίω*) Compare French *bas*, Italian *basso*, Spanish *bazo*, Welsh *bas*

ARABIC	ENGLISH
بريق <i>bartiq</i> ,	Bright ¹
بابوس <i>bábús</i> ,	Babe
بایس <i>bayázun</i> ,	Bason
بورق <i>bauraq</i> ,*	Borax
قابل <i>qábil</i> ,	Capable
کافور <i>káfur</i> ,	Camphor
قندیل <i>qindél</i> ,	Candle
کفن <i>kafun</i> ,	Coffin
کیس <i>kis</i>	Case
قال <i>qála</i> ,	Call
قنا <i>qana</i> ,	Cane
کوب or قعب <i>kub or qa'b</i> ,	Cup
عفر <i>ghafr</i> ,	Cover
كهف <i>kahaf</i> ,	Cave (Latin <i>carus</i>)
کعب <i>ka'b</i> ,	Cube (Greek <i>κῦβος</i>)
قشع or قط <i>qat, or qat'</i> ,	Cut (Welsh <i>cicct</i>)
حمل <i>jamal</i> (Heb <i>gamel</i>)	Camel
قط <i>qit</i> ,	Cat (German <i>katze</i> , Gaelic <i>cat</i>)
صفر <i>Çıfr</i> ,	Cypher ²
قطن <i>qutun</i> ,	Cotton ³
قلم <i>qalam</i> ,†	Calamus ⁴ (Latin)
قیراء <i>qirát</i> ,	Carat ⁵
قرناس <i>qurnás</i> ,	Cornice, ⁶
قند <i>qand</i> ,	Candy
خلیفة <i>khalıfa</i> ,	Khalif or Caliph
قام <i>qama</i> ,‡	Come (Anglo-Saxon <i>cuman</i> ,

* An Arabicism of the Persian word *bora*.

† A reed pen

‡ It means to stand, but used with the preposition *ila* it means to proceed

¹ For an exhaustive discussion of the etymology of this word, see Wedgwood's *Dictionary of English Etymology*. We may notice that the root is *brig*, or *brag*, imitating a sudden noise, words expressing attributes of light are commonly derived from those of sound. Compare the Anglo-Saxon *beorht*, the Gothic *baerhts* &c.

² Through the Italian *cifra* and the French *chiffre*

³ Through the Spanish *algodon*, which has retained the article

⁴ The Modern Greek has *καλαμύρι*, an inkstand

⁵ The Greek form of this word was *κεράτιον*, which was formed as if it were a diminutive of *κεράς*, analogous to *κάρπα*. The Greek *képas* has its analogue in the Hebrew קָרַץ, on which Donaldson says "The Hebrew language often preserves the truest and fullest forms of certain important roots, or quasi-roots, which it has in common with Indo-Germanic idioms."—*New Cratylus*, para. 209. It seems probable that *κεράτιον* in its meaning of *carat* had really no connexion with *képas*. The Venetian *carate* meant the seed of the carob tree; the Spanish is *quilato*.

⁶ Usually derived from the Greek *κορυμβίς*, through the Italian *cornice*, and the French *corniche*.

ARABIC	ENGLISH
خندق <i>khandaq</i> ,	Conduit, (Latin <i>duco</i>)
دلفين <i>dulfin</i> ,	Dolphin ¹
دمشق <i>dimuq</i> or دمعاس <i>dim-</i> <i>qás</i>	Damask ²
دون <i>dun</i> ,	Down ³
ترجمان <i>tarjumán</i> ,	Dragoman (Sp <i>trujaman</i>)
درهم <i>dirham</i> ,	Drachm, dram, (Greek δραχμη)
الفيلة <i>alfilat</i> ,	Elephant ⁴
ارض <i>ardh</i> ,	Earth (Anglo-Saxon <i>eorth</i>)
عين or اعدن <i>'ain</i> or <i>a'yun</i> ,	Eye, pl <i>eyne</i>
الاكسیر <i>aliksir</i> ,	Elixir
فيض <i>faidh</i> ,	Fuse (Latin <i>fundo</i> , <i>fusum</i>)
فلک or فلكه <i>fulk</i> or <i>fulka</i> ,	Felucca ⁵
بلط <i>balnat</i> or <i>balant</i> ,	Flint ⁶
فلاة <i>falát</i> ,	Flat, plate ⁷
غربال <i>ghirbál</i> ,	Garble ⁸
غربلة <i>gharbala</i> ,	
غلط <i>ghalat</i> ,	Guilt
جلید <i>jald</i> ,	Gelid (Latin <i>gelidus</i>)
حف <i>khuf</i> ,	Hoof ⁹
حاد <i>hád</i> ,	Hot, heat
حار <i>hár</i> ,	
حرم <i>haram</i>	Harem.
غزل <i>ghazál</i> ,	Gazelle
غول <i>ghul</i> ,	Ghoul
جنس <i>jns</i> ,	Genus (Latin)
زنجبیل <i>zanyabíl</i> ,	Ginger ¹⁰ [<i>girafa</i>]
زرافة <i>zurafa</i> ,	Giraffe (French and Spanish,
غرغرة <i>gharghara</i> ,	Gargle ¹¹

¹ The Greek δελφίς is found in Homer

² The English word is derived immediately from the Italian *damasco*, which has always been supposed to mean 'cloth of Damascus'

³ Compare the Dutch *duyne* and French *dunes* sand hills by the sea side, the Frisic *doh*, a hillock of sand, the Anglo Saxon *dun*, a hill, and the Gaelic *dun*, a heap hill, or fortified place

⁴ The Greek ἐλέφας, compare the Hebrew *aleph*

⁵ Italian *felucca*, French *felouque*

⁶ German *flint*

⁷ An onomatopoeia, from the sound of the fall of a flat substance Compare the French *plat*, the Italian *piatto*, the German *platt*, the Latin *latus*, the Greek πλατύς

⁸ The Spanish *garbillare*

⁹ Through the Dutch *hoef*

¹⁰ The Greek ζγγυρίσις, connected (according to Pott, Et Forsch 2 36) with the Sanskrit *gungavera*. We get it through the Latin *zinziber* and the old English *gungiber*

¹¹ This is doubtless an onomatopoeia Compare the Greek γαργυρίση, the Latin *gurgulio*, the German *gurgel*, the Italian *gargagliare*, the French *gargouiller*

ARABIC	ENGLISH
هاله <i>hála</i> ,	Halo (Greek ἅλως)
حمد <i>hamd</i> ,	Hymn (Greek ὕμνος)
اساطير <i>asatir</i> ,	History (Greek ιστορία, ἱστορῶ)
ياسمين <i>yásmín</i> ,	Jasmine
انصا <i>andhan</i> ,	Identity (Latin <i>idem</i>),
علي <i>'illa</i> ,	Ill ¹
الكاوس <i>alkalbús</i> ,	Incubus
جولاب <i>julláb</i> ,	Julep
كرف <i>kursuf</i> ,	Kerchief ²
لحد <i>lahd</i>	Lad ³
لامع <i>lam'un</i> ,	Lumine
ولد <i>ualad</i> ,	Lad (Welsh <i>llawd</i>)
الغار <i>alu'qár</i> ,	Liquor (Latin)
لمون <i>lmun</i> ,	Lemon (French <i>limon</i>)
لوزنج <i>luzinaq</i> ,	Lozenge ⁴
لغ or لغو <i>lughat</i> or <i>lughu</i> ,	Logic (Greek λογος)
لبد <i>lnat</i> ,	Lenity (Latin <i>lenis</i>)
لعق <i>la'q</i> ,	Lick ⁵
مسك <i>misk</i> ,	Musk ⁶
ميل <i>mil</i> ,	Mile ⁷
مصنط <i>musaitar</i> ,	Master
ميدان <i>mīdan</i> ,	Meadow
محرز <i>makhzan</i> ,	Magazine ⁸
مرآة <i>mirát</i> ,	Mirror ⁹
موسم <i>mausim</i> ,	Monsoon
موميائي <i>mumiyáí</i> ,	Mummy
مخنيق <i>machniq</i> or <i>majáníq</i> ,	Mechanic ¹⁰
or مخانيق <i>machniq</i> or <i>majáníq</i> ,	
from Persian مخنيق	

¹ Generally understood to be a contraction of *evil* (Anglo-Saxon *yfel*, Dutch *evel*, German *ubel*) Compare the Icelandic *illr*

² Apparently a contraction of the French *couvrechef*

³ Compare the Anglo Saxon and Icelandic *hlid* with the Latin *claudo*, connected with the Greek κλειω

⁴ The French *lozange*, usually derived from the Spanish *losa*, a flat stone for paving

⁵ An onomatopoeia Compare the Greek λείγω the Italian *leccare*, the Gothic *lagon*, the German *lecken*, the Finnish *lakkia*, the Lithuanian *lakti*, the Russian *lokati*

⁶ Compare the Greek μόσχος (= μωσχος, according to Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, para 219) the Latin *musculus* the French *muscle* the Sanscrit *muskha*

⁷ The Anglo Saxon *mil*, supposed to be identical with the French *mille*, the Latin *mille passuum*

⁸ Through the Spanish *almacen*, *magacen* and the French *magasin*

⁹ Apparently from the Latin *miror*, through the French *mirror*

¹⁰ From the Greek μηχανή, μῆχος, akin to μῆδος, μῆτις, &c Compare the Latin *machina*

ARABIC	ENGLISH
مطران <i>matrán</i> ,	Metropolitan (Greek <i>μήτηρ</i>)
مر <i>murr</i> ,	Myrrh, myrtle ¹
منارة <i>manárat</i> ,	Minaret
املاح (ملاح) <i>imlaj, malj</i> ,	Milch ²
مرح <i>marah</i> ,	Mirth, merry ³
مطر <i>mutv</i> ,	Mate ⁴
معدي <i>ma'ni</i> ,	Mean ⁵
مهلكه <i>muthla</i> ,	Mutilate (Latin <i>mutilo</i>) ⁶
من <i>man</i> ,	Manna (Hebrew)
عنق <i>'unuq</i> ,	Neck ⁷
نقرب <i>naqrat</i>	Nefarious (Latin <i>nefas, fas, for</i>)
نبل و نبل <i>nabel or nubul</i> ,	Noble (Latin <i>nobilis</i>) ⁸
نظر <i>nazar</i> ,	Nadir
نفت <i>naft</i>	Naptha (Greek <i>νάφθα</i>)
نارنج <i>nái anj</i> ,	Orange ⁹
فردوس <i>fi dous</i> ,	Paradise
فهد <i>fahd</i> ,	Pard ¹⁰
بلبل یا بالبل <i>bulbul or balabil</i> ,	Philomela (Greek)
فستق <i>fustaq</i> , (Pers <i>pis'a</i>),	Pistachio
قنطار <i>quntar</i> ,	Quintal ¹¹
رائص <i>raudh</i> ,	Ride ¹²
رفض <i>rafz</i> ,	Refuse (Latin <i>refundo, refusum</i>)
سكر <i>sukkar</i> ,	Sugar ¹³
اسفنج <i>isfanj</i> ,	Sponge ¹⁴
استورة <i>ustura</i> ,	Story (see History)
سكال <i>shikál</i> ,	Shackle
ساقمونيا <i>saqmuma</i> ,	Scamony (Greek <i>σκαμωνια</i>)
زعفران <i>za'fa'án</i> ,	Saffron ¹⁵

¹ The Greek *μύρρα* meant the balsamic juice of the Arabian *μύρτος* or myrtle

² Compare the Latin *mulgeo* the German *melken* the Greek *ἀμείλω* The peculiarity of the vowel prefixed to the Greek root is noticed by Donaldson, *New Cratylus* para 212

³ Compare the Gaelic *mure*, *mureadh*

⁴ The Icelandic *mati*

⁵ Compare the German *meinen*, the Latin *meminisse* the Icelandic *mund*

⁶ The Greek *μύτιλος* or *μυτιλος*

⁷ From the Anglo-Saxon *hnecca*, Danish *nakke* Compare the Dutch *nak*, and the French *nuque*

⁸ *Nobilis* is doubtless *gnobilis* from the Greek *γνώω*

⁹ Through the Venetian *naranja*, and the Spanish *naranja* Compare the Italian *arancio* and the French *orange*

¹⁰ The Greek *πάρδος*, Homer has *πάρδαλις*

¹¹ Usually derived from Latin *centum*

¹² From the Anglo Saxon *riden* Compare the Icelandic *reida*, and the German *reiten*

¹³ Latin *saccharum*

¹⁴ Latin *spongia*, *fungus*, Greek *σπόγγος*

¹⁵ French *safran*; Italian *zafferano*

ARABIC	ENGLISH
استابل <i>istabl</i> ,	Stable (Latin <i>stabulum</i> , <i>sto</i>)
سنا <i>saná</i> ,	Sun
سقرلأ <i>saqaríát</i> ,	Scarlet ¹
سلو <i>suḥuv</i> ,	Solace (Latin <i>solatium</i> , <i>solor</i>)
* جدول <i>jadwál</i> ,	Schedule ²
صندل <i>sandal</i> ,	Sandal.
سلك <i>silk</i> ,	Silk ³
شرقيين <i>sharqíín</i> ,	Saracen
سلطان <i>sultán</i> ,	Sultan
سنا <i>saná</i> ,	Senna.
سماق <i>sumáq</i> ,	Smack
سلب <i>sulb</i> ,	Slab (Welsh <i>yslab</i>)
ساق <i>sáq</i> ,	Shank (Anglo-Saxon <i>scanc</i>)
صلوة <i>salat</i> ,	Salute (Latin <i>salus</i>)
شمراخ <i>skimrakh</i> ,	Shamrock (Irish <i>seamrog</i>)
عصفور <i>'uṣfur</i> ,	Sparrow ⁴
وشل <i>washal</i> ,	Shallow, shoal
طلسم <i>tilismun</i> ,	Talisman
طعنة <i>ta'nat</i> ,	Taunt
طوفان <i>tufán</i> ,	Typhoon
طسق <i>tasq</i> ,	Tax, task (Latin <i>taxo</i>)
طال <i>tala</i> ,	Tall (Welsh <i>tal</i>)
طلق <i>talq</i> ,	Tale
طرس <i>tun s</i> ,	Tress ⁵
استبرق <i>istabraq</i> ,	Tabric
بيطا <i>baitár</i> ,	Veterinary ⁶
عود <i>'úd</i> ,	Wood ⁷
وسط <i>wast</i> ,	Waist (Welsh <i>gwastg</i>)
وهم <i>wahm</i> ,	Whim
زر <i>zir</i> ,	Zero (Spanish and Italian)
زنه <i>zinaf</i> ,	Zenith (Spanish <i>zenit</i>)

* as used in Arithmetical works

¹ Italian *scarlato*, French *écarlate* German *scharlach* The Italian *scarnatino* (flesh-coloured from Latin *caro*) became in Venetian *scarlatinn* which suggests a Latin origin for the word

² Latin *schedula*, diminutive of *scheda*, *scindo*, Greek *σχέδη*, *σχίζω*, German *scheiden*

³ Anglo-Saxon *seolc*, usually derived from Latin *sericum*, Greek *σινκός*, *Σηπ*

⁴ Anglo-Saxon *spærwa*, Icelandic *sporr*, German *spierling*

⁵ Italian *treccia*, French *tresse*, Spanish *trenza*; by some derived from Greek *τρεῖς* *threefold*, by others from Latin *trivæ* Greek *τρῖς*, *hav*

⁶ Latin *veternus*; usually derived from *veho*

⁷ Anglo-Saxon *wudu*; Welsh *gwydd*

ART II—THE ARCHITECTURE OF KASHMÍR.

THE ancient temples of Kashmír form a small but complete series of exceeding interest. The date of their erection and the names of their founders have in some cases been recorded by contemporary annalists, and by reference to these authenticated examples all the remainder can be accurately referred to their proper chronological order, if only attention be directed to some slight but obvious differences of constructural detail. The ruins, though not absolutely numerous, are sufficiently so to show the rise and development of the style with its ultimate debasement, while they are so far complete, or rather complementary to one another, that a restoration of such parts as time or fanaticism has destroyed can be mentally effected with almost absolute certainty. And further, not only is the style of architecture positively unique and of special historic significance, facts which appeal chiefly to the student, but its actual intrinsic beauty cannot fail to strike the most cursory observer. The scenery too, in which these ancient buildings are situated, is the most lovely in the world—now some lofty crag, as at Mártand, from which may be descried the whole extent of the Happy Valley, now some grassy glade sloping down to the edge of a broad and rapid mountain stream, as at Pá-yachh, or again, as at Wángat, a savage glen, far from all human habitation, where the dense forests and towering precipices lend a more than religious gloom to the crumbling fanes, and the mighty river that rushes at their base only betrays its presence by the roar of its turbulent waters. In all, excepting perhaps the last named instance, these interesting buildings have the further advantage of accessibility, for, as of old, the Jhelam with its vast connected system of lakes and canals forms the principal thoroughfare of the country, and has seen arise upon its banks each of the many capitals founded by successive lines of Hindú dynasties. There, too, as a natural consequence, the most imposing temples were erected, and their ruins may still be inspected by the summer tourist, if he merely stay the boat for a few moments as it lazily floats down with the current.

However, in spite of these many concurrent causes, which might be expected to popularise the study of Kashmír antiquities, scarcely one of the 500 visitors who yearly flock across the Himálayas to avoid the summer heats of Hindústán, ever thinks of giving them a glance. And this in spite of the *ennui* which the most enthusiastic sportsman, the most listless of lotus-eaters, or the most fond admirer of beauty and the picturesque seldom fails to experience, if his term of residence extends to the full

period of six months. The cause of this neglect is not hard to discover. An ancient building, like a painting by one of the old masters, requires an educated taste for its appreciation, without some slight smattering of technical knowledge the points of special interest are left unnoted and the mind receives only a confused impression, in which the accidents of time and decay predominate over the essentials of constructive art and original design. In Europe the sight-seer accepts with unhesitating and generally well-placed confidence the art-criticisms of the familiar Murray. In Kashmir the only attempt at a guide-book is a little manual compiled by Dr Ince, who was for two years stationed at Srinagar* as Medical Officer. It is an unpretending (though very high-priced) little book, and gives a variety of useful information with regard to prices and distances and such practical matters. It is especially characterized by the number and accuracy of the measurements which it contains, the exact height and area of a bungalow chabutara, the precise depth and width of the water-courses in a pleasure-garden, are all carefully chronicled, while more striking features in the landscape are left to speak for themselves. The remarks on the architecture of the country are curiously pre-scientific, the relative antiquity of Hindú and Muhammadan buildings is ordinarily reversed, while the temples of which it would be interesting to state the exact dimensions are, from some obliquity of judgment, invariably left unmeasured, and are dismissed with the summary remark that nothing is known about them.

To this dictum of the Kashmir Murray may no doubt be attributed much of the absurdity, which frequently colours the impressions of a tourist on his return from the ruins of Mártand. These he has visited, attracted by their greater local celebrity, or in consequence of his having seen in the plains the admirable photographic views of which they form the subject. But as they are the one solitary specimen of that style of architecture which has ever come under his observation, and as his only literary guide, backed probably by the ignorant cicerones on the spot, assures him that their origin is an utter mystery, he confidently ventures on the wildest theories as to their date and object. One, struck by the familiar outline of the columns in the peristyle, ascribes their construction to European artists in the employ of the great Muhammadan Emperors during the 16th and 17th centuries, another, having learnt that Mártand in some language or another, means 'the sun' assumes as an unquestionable fact that the architects were Fireworshippers, while a third, with a general impression of an

* The writer would protest against 'Srinugger,' which literally means the way in which the name of 'Silly town,' this town is vulgarly mis-spelt.

Israelitish cast of face in the present inhabitants of the country and a vague reminiscence that there is a Takht-i-Sulaimán or 'Solomon's throne' somewhere in the neighbourhood, declares it to be the original temple of the Jews*. All are unanimous in protesting that Hindús cannot possibly have had any hand in its erection

It is obvious that theories so grotesquely remote from the truth could not be seriously propounded by persons of ordinary intelligence, if there did not exist some marked difference between Kashmíri and ordinary Hindú architecture. The difference is mainly attributable to Greek influence exercised by the long succession of Indo-Bactrian dynasties. A learned native member of the Asiatic Society has recently maintained that the invasion of Alexander had no more permanent effect upon Indian civilisation than Lord Napier's temporary occupation of Abyssinia upon the arts of that country. A journey from Calcutta to Srinagar is a costly specific to prescribe for the expulsion of an erroneous idea, but it would unquestionably prove efficacious. The colonnaded quadrangles that enclose the temples at Bhaníyár, Mártand and Avantipur find no parallel in any purely Indian edifice, but correspond precisely with the Grecian peristyle and are undoubtedly copied from it. The columns are all of uniform design, most nearly resembling the Doric order, with clearly defined base, shaft and capital, each proportioned with reference to the diameter. A group of ordinary Hindu columns presents a very different appearance, there it is rare to find even two alike, simplicity is eschewed in favour of the eccentric, and the more dissimilar any two pillars may be, the more suitable are they judged to stand in juxta-position. The principle is extended to the component parts of the same column, these also bear no definite proportion to one another, in some cases a giant base supports a puny shaft and equally insignificant capital, in others a base is altogether wanting, while a companion pillar is constructed of two halves of utterly diverse design, each forming a perfect column by itself, and mounted the one upon the other. This last arrangement appears such an inexplicable vagary, that in one place where it occurs, *viz.* the Hindú colonnade near the Kutb Minár at Delhi, architects are unable to decide whether the building, as we now see it, was so originally designed, or whether it is only a congeries of incongruous fragments taken from various temples and roughly put together by the Muhammadan despoiler, just as they first came to hand. The truth would appear to lie between

* However incredible it may appear, it is a fact that the present writer when in Kashmír heard each of the above views energetically defended.

these two extreme views the colonnade has been reconstructed by the Muhammadans, but probably in close, though not always exact, accordance with the original design. This opinion is derived from the examination of an ancient but little-known Hindû building at Mahâban in the Mathurâ district, where the pillars in the front row are each one shaft of uniform character, while in the interior, which consists of four parallel aisles, the same height is obtained by the combination of two smaller columns, one surmounting the other.*

It is certain that most, and probable that all of the existing Kashmir temples were dedicated to the worship of Siva, and enshrined merely a conical stone, the popular symbol of that divinity. Hence the smallness of their dimensions. The interior of the cella, or sanctuary, is seldom more than 10 or 12 feet square, space ample enough for the simple form of adoration which alone is required by Mahâdeva from his devotees, *viz.*, that they sprinkle water on the sacred symbol, pace round it with measured steps, and finally crown it with a garland of flowers. The drain for the purpose of carrying off the waste water still exists in most of the temples, and is clearly part of the original structure, being a projecting corner from some one of the few enormous blocks of which the building is composed. In the Vaishnava shrines on the contrary there is a kind of public service, attended with music and chanting and necessitating a much wider space for the accommodation of the worshippers, as may be seen in the stately fanes at Mathurâ and Brindâban, which are quite on the scale of Christian churches.

Owing to the great thickness of the walls and the massiveness of the plinth upon which the temples are raised, their exterior proportions are much more imposing than would be expected from the recital of so insignificant an interior area. Though less suggestive of Greek influence than the detached pillars of the colonnades, the pilasters with their definitely proportioned base, shaft and capital, the square architraves of the doorways and the triangular pediments that surmount them, but still more the chastened simplicity of outline, and the just subordination of merely decorative details are at a glance seen to be classic rather than oriental. Beyond the points above enumerated, the resemblance ceases, the porches are curved into a bold tiefoiled arch of similar

* Some five or six years ago an Archaeological Abstract of the antiquities of every district was compiled by orders of Government, and in the course of the present year a sumptuous work has appeared, which professes to illustrate the architectural antiquities of Mathurâ and its neighbourhood, prepared by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey. In neither of these reports is there any mention of the Mahâban building, though it would be difficult to find, not only in that district, but in the whole of Upper India, any ancient remain of more singular interest.

character with English Gothic of the First Pointed period, and the roof instead of being flat and out of sight is a high-pitched pyramid, broken, however, into two compartments by a horizontal band carved with dentils and triglyphs. In short the adaptation of classic forms was complete just so far as the differences of climate and the conventionalities of religion allowed. In the sunny land of Greece, a roof was felt to be a useless encumbrance and therefore kept out of sight, on the snowy hills of Kashmīr a substantial covering over head was above all things to be desired, hence the roof became a prominent feature in the design. In sculpture the influence of Greek art was unfelt, since the archaic representations of the deity were too sacred to admit of modification and were reproduced in all their primitive rudeness in niches and on panels moulded with the most artistic grace. Nor is this discordance in design any matter for surprise the very same feeling may be seen at work in the present day. On the bank of the Ganges at Mīrzapur, a most exquisite ghāt has been for some years past in course of erection. The architect with the true assimilating genius of the great mediæval builders, has blended into one harmonious composition, details that he has borrowed both from *Saracenic and Gothic art, and so incorporated them in a basis of Hindū design* that the gradation from the one style to the other is absolutely imperceptible, and the effect uniform and eminently beautiful. Yet the divinities enthroned in this artistic shrine, being copied from the indigenous models at Jagannath, are as coarse and barbarous as the fetiches of the most degraded South Sea islanders.

In all the Kashmīr temples, except Martand, the cella forms the entire building. In some examples there is an open doorway on each of the four sides, in others only one, facing east or west, such a position enabling the rays either of the rising or setting sun to fall full upon the idol. In both cases the exterior effect is the same, when there is only a single entrance, the porch above it may be made slightly more prominent, but on each of the other faces is a similar erection, though the doorway within it is closed. At the larger of the two Pathan temples the projection of these pseudo-porches is so considerable that they form deep niches or rather shallow chambers, in each of which was once a lingam.

As the country population of Kashmīr is almost exclusively Muhammadan,* the visitor in reply to any enquiries on the spot will

* The modern language of Kashmīr would be a most interesting study for the philologist, as beyond what may be learnt from a few very imperfect vocabularies which have appeared in the journal of the Asiatic Society, it is absolutely unknown beyond the

borders of its own native home. In its origin it is a Prākṛit dialect of the Sanskrit, and the number of directly Sanskrit words still in common use have a very odd sound coming from the mouth of Muhammadans. In retaliation for the corruption of

probably be told that the building is only an old *bhūt-khāna*, or idol-house, and therefore, as is implied, quite unworthy of any notice on the part of a true follower of the prophet. If the guide is of somewhat higher intelligence, he will say it was the work of giants of old, the Pándus,* meaning the heroes of the Mahābhārata, but beyond this it is impossible to advance. Fortunately we are not left in this matter at the mercy of local tradition or baseless speculation. The only historical work that exists in the whole vast range of Sanskrit literature is by a wonderful chance, a chronicle of Kashmir, entitled the *Rajá Taranginí*. In this the principal temples erected by many of the kings are briefly noted and may with tolerable certainty be identified with existing remains.

This identification was first made by General (then Captain) Cunningham, in an article contributed to the journal of the Asiatic Society in 1848, wherein he gives full descriptions and sketches of the temples at the Takht-i-Sulaiman, Bhaumajo, Payachh, Mártand, Avantipur, Pathan, and Pandrathan. A supplementary notice by the Rev W G Cowie appeared in the same journal in 1866. To both these scholars the present writer is largely indebted, though he has himself also personally examined all the temples and places which he now proceeds to describe.

The earliest of all the temples is said to be that crowning the Takht-i-Sulaimán. This hill rises to the height of 1,000 feet above the plain and overlooks the town of Srinagar which spreads away to the foot of the opposite but somewhat lower eminence called the Hari Parbat †. The first religious edifice on this commanding site was built by Jaloka, the son of the great Buddhist convert Asoka, about 200 B C. In all probability there is not a fragment of this now remaining. The temple was subsequently rebuilt and dedicated to Jyeshthesvara, a title of Mahadeva, by Rāja Gopaditya, who reigned from 238 to 253 A D. To this date may be ascribed the low enclosing wall and the plinth of the existing temple, but all the superstructure is evidently modern or greatly modernized.

Persian words by Hmdús in India who pronounce the letter *z* as a *j*, the Muhammadans in Kashmir convert all the Sanskrit palatals in to sibilants and *vice versa*, thus *gashh* Sanskrit for 'go,' becomes *gash*, and 'si' for 'asi' 'he is' becomes 'chha'.

* The Mahābhārata represents the five sons of Pándu as reared in the neighbourhood of the Himālayas, and subsequently brought thence to their ancestral capital of Hastinapura or Delhi (Adi Parva II. 64). So

too Ptolemy in his Geography fixes the country of the Pándus in the vicinity of the Vitasta, i.e., the Jhelam.

† The Hari Parbat, as is obvious, derives its name from the Hindú God Hari or Vishnu, of whom there is a rock cut sculpture on one side of the hill. Bernier, who, whatever his merits as a writer, was certainly no philologist, thought it denoted 'the green mountain'. So modern visitors to Srinagar convert Hari sanh-Bāgh into Harrison Bāgh.

Of more interest and in much more perfect preservation is the small cave-temple at Bhaumajo. It stands at the far end of a natural but artificially enlarged fissure in the limestone cliff, which rises from the bank of the Lidar at the mouth of the valley, bearing the same name, about half a mile from the village of Bhavan. The entrance to the cavern, which is more than 60 feet above the level of the river, is carved into an architectural doorway and a gloomy passage 50 feet in length, leads from it to the door of the temple. It is a simple cella, 10 feet square, exterior dimensions, raised on a boldly moulded plinth and approached by a short flight of steps. The square doorway is flanked by two round-headed niches despoiled of their statues, and is surmounted by a high triangular pediment reaching to the apex of the roof, with a trefoiled tympanum. There is no record nor tradition as to the time of erection, but from the absence of all ornamentation and the simple character of the roof, which appears to be a rudimentary copy in stone of the ordinary sloping timber roof of the country, it may with great probability be inferred that this is the earliest perfect specimen of a Kashmir temple and dates from the first or second century of the Christian era.

Close by is another cave of still greater extent, but with no architectural accessories, and about half a mile further up the valley at the foot of the cliff are two temples, the larger of which has been converted into a Muhammadan tomb. Both are to a considerable extent copies of the cave-temple, but may be of much later date.

The little shrine at Páyachh comes next in point of antiquity and in intrinsic beauty and elegance of outline is far superior to all the existing remains of similar dimensions. The traveller, Vigne, regarded it as the most modern of all, but apparently from no more solid reason than its excellent preservation. This however may be explained by its retired situation, at the foot of a high table-land which separates it by an interval of 5 or 6 miles from the bank of the Jhelam, and by the marvellous solidity of its construction. The cella, which is only 8 feet square and has an open doorway on each of the four sides, is composed of only ten stones, the four corners being each a single stone, the sculptured tympanums over the doorways four others, while two more compose the pyramidal roof, the lower of these being an enormous mass, 8 feet square by 4 feet in height. It has been ascribed by General Cunningham, on grounds, which, in the absence of any positive authority either way, may be taken as adequate to King Narendraditya, who reigned from 483 to 490 A.D. The sculptures over the doorways are coarsely executed, in comparison with the artistic finish of the purely architectural details, and are much defaced, but apparently

represent Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and the goddess Durgá. The interior is still occupied by a large stone lingam, and from the water-drain and the bulls carved on the smaller pilasters of the doorways, it is evident that this was the original intention.

Of somewhat later date are the temples at Wángat. These are in two groups, situated at the distance of a few hundred yards from each other, and consisting respectively of six and eleven distinct buildings. In close proximity is a sacred spring called Nág-bal,* and by it the footpath leads up the heights of Hara-mukh to the mountain-lake of Gangá-bal, a celebrated place of pilgrimage. It is probable that the temples were erected at different times by returning pilgrims, as votive offerings after successful accomplishment of the hazardous ascent. They stand at the head of a narrow glen, traversed by the rapid stream of the Kanknai, high up on the precipitous mountain-side, in the midst of dense jungle and towering pine-trees, with no abode of man nearer than the little hamlet of Wángat, which is at a distance of three miles. The luxuriant forest-growth has overthrown and buried almost completely several of the smaller temples, on the summit of the largest a tall pine has taken root and rises straight from the centre in rivalry of the original finial. The architecture is of a slightly more advanced type than at Payachh, the most striking feature being the bold projection and lofty trefoiled arches of the lateral porches.

Of very similar character, but in more perfect preservation, is the temple at Bhaniyár. This is much better known, since it stands on the very edge of the high-road leading from Murree to Srinagar, about a mile and a half from the village of Naushahra. The actual shrine is a cella of larger dimensions than usual, being $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet square in the interior, with walls $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, supported on a basement 4 feet square of singularly noble proportions. It is the earliest example that still retains its original enclosure, a cloistered quadrangle measuring 145 by 120 feet. Though the finer touches of the chisel have been effaced by time, the colonnade is in other respects almost perfect. The wall is pierced by a series of pedimented and trefoiled arches, forming shallow recesses for the accommodation of priests and pilgrims, and in front of each pier is a circular column attached to the intabature by a short transverse architrave. The central gateway is of similar character with the temple-porches, and has a pair of lofty detached

* *Nág* being originally a 'serpent' or 'water-god' has come in Kashmir to denote simply a 'spring,' as in the name of the place. *Var nág* it finds a curious parallel in the English north-country use of 'force' for which is either a corruption of *Vár*, a water fall.

columns on either face, and in the centre a cross-wall closed by a wooden door. This plan of having the door not flush with either wall, but at an equal distance from both, under the centre of the gateway, is to be observed also at Mártand and Avantipur. It has an obvious advantage in affording shelter to persons claiming either admission or exit, and the artistic effect is excellent.

A few miles further on the road is another temple of similar character, but originally, as it would seem, of more elaborate design. Here, however, the surrounding colonnade, if it ever existed, has entirely disappeared, and only the blank wall remains.

The celebrated temple of Mártand is the next to claim attention, and is of far more imposing dimensions than any other existing example. It alone possesses in addition to the cella, or sanctuary, a choir and nave, or to give them their Sanskrit terms, *antarāla* and *arddha-mandapa*. The nave is 18 feet square, and the total length of the building 63 feet. The sanctuary alone is left entirely bare, the two other compartments are lined with rich panelling and sculptured niches. The roof has been completely removed, and lies in vast masses round the walls of the building, it is calculated that the height cannot have been less than 75 feet. The western entrance, approached by a wide flight of steps now encumbered with ruins, is surmounted by a magnificent trefoiled arch and flanked by two side-chapels, once connected with the nave by the extension of their roof over the narrow intervening passage. On the other sides of the temple are similar lofty arches, with closed doorways below. The pillared quadrangle, which is 220 by 142 feet in dimensions, varies in no essential point from that at Bhanīyār, but the carving is rather more elaborate. There are in all 84 columns, a singularly appropriate number in a temple of the sun, if, as is supposed, the number 84 is accounted sacred by the Hindús in consequence of its being the multiple of the number of days in the week with the number of signs in the Zodiac. The colonnade is distinctly recorded in the *Raja Taranginī* as the work of the famous king Lalitāditya, who reigned from 693 to 729 A.D. From the same authority we gather, though the interpretation of the verses is considerably disputed, that the temple itself was built by Ranāditya, and the side-chapels, or at least one of them, by his queen Amrita-prabhā. The date of Ranāditya's reign is involved in some obscurity, but the safest conclusion is that he died in the first half of the 5th century after Christ.

On the right bank of the Jhelam, about half-way between the towns of Srinagar and Islāmábád, stood the capital of the famous king Avanti-varmā, which he called after his own name Avantipur. Here he founded two temples, one before his accession to the throne, the other and larger one subsequently. Both were dedicated to Mahádeva, the former under the title of Avanti-swāmi

the latter under that of Avantiswara. His reign extended from the year 854 to 883 A D. The two temples are now shapeless masses of ruins, but the gateways of both are standing and the colonnade of the smaller temple, which had been completely buried under ground, has recently been partially excavated. The style corresponds with that of the Mártand quadrangle, but the semi-attached pillars of the arched recesses are enriched with elaborate carving of very varied character, while the large detached columns are somewhat less elegantly proportioned.

It is recorded in the Rája Taranginí that Sankara Varmma, who succeeded Avanti Varmma and reigned from 883 to 901 A D in conjunction with his queen Sugandhá, dedicated to Mahádeva under the titles of Sankara Gauresa and Sugandhesvara—two temples at his new capital of Sankara-pura. This town is identified with the modern Pathan, where beside the highway leading from Srinagar to Bárahmúla, two stately temples are still standing. Each is a simple cella, but in the larger one, as already noted, the side porches are so deep as to constitute separate chambers. In both the architecture is of the same character as at Mártand, and of equal excellence. Here and there the carving is as sharp and fresh as if executed yesterday, but there are many ominous cracks in the walls, and if the forest trees which have taken root in these crevices are allowed to remain and spread, the total destruction of both buildings is imminent.

Such a fate has already overtaken a most interesting temple, situated on a diminutive island called the Lanka at the entrance of the Walúr lake. It was constructed on a plan entirely different from that of any other existing example, being a square (34 feet in dimension) with a single porch or narthex on the south side, projecting 6 feet beyond the walls of the cella. The exterior was ornamented with arcades of trefoiled niches in two tiers. These are so Gothic in character that they might be transferred without incongruity to the walls of an English cathedral. The island is a dense mass of jungle, and the forest trees, which have already displaced great part of the massive masonry, threaten soon to bring down all the remainder. There appears once to have been a surrounding colonnade, as a large number of fluted pillars are lying about, but none *in situ*.

The temple of Pándrathan, the last in the main series, is, next to Mártand, the best known of all, in consequence of its close proximity to the capital. It stands in the centre of a small pond, in ordinary seasons about 4 feet deep in the water. Access to the interior is therefore a matter of some difficulty, which is unfortunate, since the domed roof is well worth inspection, being covered with sculpture of such purely classic design, that any uninitiated person who saw a copy of it on paper would at once take it for a

sketch from a Greek or Roman original. The temple is 18 feet square, with a projecting portico on each side, and displays in a confused exuberance of decoration, more especially the repetition of pediment within pediment and trefoil within trefoil, clear indications of later date. It was erected, during the reign of King Pārtha, who governed Kashmir from 913 to 921 A.D., by his Prime Minister Meru, who dedicated it to Mahadeva under the title of Meru-varddhana-swami. The ground about it was then occupied by the original city of Śrīnagar, the modern name Pāndrathan being a corruption of the Sanskrit Purānadhish-thāna, *i.e.*, 'the old capital'. The seat of Government had been transferred to the present site by King Pravarasena II nearly 500 years before the foundation of the temple, but the old city was not entirely deserted till its destruction by fire in the reign of Abhimanyu, about the year 960 A.D. The conflagration was so violent that, excepting the temple, which was protected by the water about it, no other building escaped. There are in the neighbourhood some few fragmentary remains, which General Cunningham, more than 20 years ago, amused himself by piecing together and reconstructing with a wildness of imagination which his present mature judgment would be far from endorsing. The remains are simply as follows.—First, two large lingams, one 6 feet high, erect and entire, the other broken into three pieces, the lower part polygonal, the upper round with conical top, which together made up a height of 16 feet. Near these, which are separated from each other by a short interval, is a huge mass of stone, being the feet and legs, as high as the knees, of a colossal seated figure, probably a Buddhist image. At some little distance beyond this, an isolated crag has been cut as it stood into some sculptured form, apparently a *chaumukhi*, *i.e.*, a square pillar with a figure on each face. But the rock has been overthrown, broken into three pieces and so defaced by the action of fire that it is impossible to speak positively as to the original design. Of the three fragments one, the base, is still attached to and forms part of the natural rock. These four perfectly distinct objects, *viz.*, the two lingams, the seated Buddha, and the rock-cut *chaumukhi* were combined by Captain Cunningham into a gigantic phallic pillar, with the heads and feet of four figures showing at the base and centre of the column, while their bodies were made to disappear into the polygonal shaft of the larger lingam. ●

On the margin of the beautiful lake of Mānas-bal is another small temple, about 6 feet square, sunk like that at Pāndrathan to some depth in the water. Strange, as it may appear, there is good reason to suppose that all the Kashmir temples, not even excepting Mārtand, were originally surrounded by artificial lakes. This alone can explain the silting up of the Avantipur

quadrangle. The water was probably conveyed from an exterior reservoir into the courtyard, which was flooded to the depth of two or three feet, partially covering the plinth of the temple while a stone footway was carried on masonry supports over the water round the margin of the colonnade, and from the temple-door to the entrance gateway. The object of this curious arrangement was to propitiate the *nāgas*, or water-spirits, the primitive divinities of the country. In proof of the prevalent ophiolatry may be adduced the ancient slabs sculptured with figures of snakes which are still occasionally to be seen worked up into the walls of modern buildings. There is one at the temple-ghât of Bijbihâra, but perhaps the most curious of all is at the village of Changas on the Bhimbar route into Kashmir, where among a number of small lingams under a pipal tree is a rudely carved slab representing a serpent with its long coils spreading over the whole length of the stone, and a devotee with clasped hands standing below. Abul Fazl speaks of nearly 700 figures of *nāgas*, or serpent gods, existing in his time in Kashmir.

One peculiarity of temple architecture yet remains to be noticed, and that is the occurrence here and there throughout the country of miniature models of temples, constructed in each case out of a single stone. The visitor to Kashmir by the Pîr-Panchâl road passes one half-way between Shapiyun and Râmu, there is another at Kohil near Pâyachh, a third built up into the embankment of the canal called the Nali Mar, and two more in the City Lake, often completely under water and hence much worn and defaced. In all these examples, though the interior area can scarcely be so much as a foot square, the similitude to an actual temple is carried out in every architectural detail. But near the village of Pathan, beside the great highway from Bârahmûla to Srinagar, are two such models, which are not hollowed out in the interior at all, the place of the open doorway being occupied by a sculptured panel.

Though a Hindû dynasty continued to reign in Kashmir till the beginning of the 14th century, and temples, as there is every reason to suppose, were erected by the later princes of the line, no less than by their predecessors, still the most modern example extant of the true Kashmir style is, as we have already mentioned, the temple at Pandrathan, founded so far back as the year 920 A.D. The fact may be thus explained. From the year 960 A.D. the site of the capital was fixed permanently at Srinagar, and as a natural consequence the great majority of the more modern temples would be erected in that neighbourhood. Thus they were the first to fall victims to the intolerant zeal of the Muhammadan conquerors, by whom Srinagar was maintained as the principal seat of Government. The destruction was mainly

accomplished during the first few years of the 15th century by Sikandar, the fifth in succession of the new line of sovereigns, who himself adopted and is uniformly known to posterity by the distinctive title of *Bhut-shikan*, i.e., the Iconoclast. It was his boast to have demolished every temple in Kashmir, a boast which the still-existing remains clearly convict of falsehood, if by Kashmir is intended the whole country of that name, but possibly true enough if applied only to the city of Srinagar, or Kashmir Khás, as it is frequently designated. The stone embankments, which line the river on either side in its course through the city, are very largely composed of sculptured masses, plinths, cornices, pediments and friezes, the tomb of Sikandar's queen is constructed on a base, and with materials, of Hindú architecture, and in the suburb of Naushahra are some gracefully designed columns, and the walls of one square temple partially standing. But beyond these mere fragments there is not a vestige of any ancient building within the city bounds. The subsequent conversion of the great mass of the people to the faith of Islám was so rapid, and the repression of the miserable remnant who still adhered to their ancestral superstitions so determined excepting only the one tolerant reign of the good king Zain-ul-abd-dín,* that thenceforth no Hindú temples were either built or restored, and the ancient art soon fell into absolute desuetude and oblivion. Judging from the many fragments that remain built up into walls and bridges, we may conclude that the style had greatly deteriorated prior to its violent extinction, a profusion of coarse sculpture having superseded the chastened architectural forms of an earlier period.

As may have been gathered from the preceding sketch, the kings of Kashmir, like most oriental potentates, delighted to transfer the seat of Government to some spot of their own selection, and to commemorate the fact by the designation imposed upon the new city. Of these ephemeral capitals little now remains beyond the name, and that in many cases so distorted by corrupt pronunciation, that it is difficult to recognise its identity. It is probable that private dwellings were always, as they still are, mainly constructed of wood, and therefore subject to periodic destruction by fire, the massive temples may have resisted the flames, but only to be demolished some centuries later by the Muham-

* It was in honour of this king to a misconception of the work, and that the third section of the Sanskrit Chronicle of Kashmir, written in the reign of Zaina's grandson Fath Khán, received from its author, Sri Vara Pandita, this name of Sri Jaina Rájá Taranjini. This name has often led to its insertion among the religious literature of the Jaini sect. The Muhammadan Sovereign's title is disguised by its Nágari dress almost beyond recognition into Sri Jainoll-abha dín.

madan. The two great Indo-Scythian princes and brothers, Huvishka and Kanishka, are among the earliest whose foundations can be traced. The site of Huvishka-pura is perpetuated by the tiny hamlet of Ushkara on the left bank of the Jhelam, immediately opposite Bárahmúla, and the remains of a Buddhist *stupa*, erected at a much later period by King Lalitaditya, may still be seen there. A few miles higher up the stream was the companion city of Kanishka-pura, which is still a considerable village. On the modern maps it appears as Kanisapoora, but in ordinary parlance the name is shortened to Kanikpur, and on the spot itself to Kánpoor. General Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India* has identified Kanishka-pura with Kánpur (or Khanpur) Saráe at the other end of the valley. But in this he is unquestionably mistaken*. Without a single exception—unless the present be one—all the ancient capitals were built in the close vicinity of water, whereas Khánpur Saráe stands on a high and comparatively barren plateau at a considerable distance from any spring or stream. As it formed one of the stages on the old imperial road from Bhimbar to Srinagar, a saráe was built there for the reception of the royal *cortège*, and outside its walls a few miserable huts may still be seen to cluster, but there is no local tradition nor anything in the neighbourhood to indicate greater importance in times past. Until its identification with the capital of Kanishka, the name was invariably, and it would seem correctly, written Khanpur, probably it dates only from the erection of the saráe, which first rendered it necessary to attach a distinctive appellation to so remote and unattractive a locality.

The only important town on the bank of the Jhelam between Bárahmúla and Srinagar is Súpur, the ancient Surapura, built in the reign of Avantí Varmma by his minister Sura, on the site of the still more ancient Kambúva. To avoid the necessity of crossing the dangerous Walúr Lake, through which flows the main stream of the Jhelam, a navigable canal was constructed in very early times to connect Súrpur with Srinagar. In the neighbourhood of this canal two ancient cities were founded. The first, Parihásapura, was built in the reign of Lalitaditya, but would seem to have been merely an occasional royal residence, and in the next generation was altogether deserted. The second city, Jayapura, founded by Lalitaditya's grandson Jayapida, is identified by the name of its citadel, which survives, though all traces of the

* The present writer is so largely indebted to General Cunningham's previous researches in the field of Kashmir archaeology, that he trusts the occasional expression of a difference of opinion will be rightly interpreted as simply the necessary result of independent research, and not as implying any captious wish to impugn the general accuracy of the observations, or soundness of the conclusions, formed by that eminent scholar.

city have disappeared. It is recorded in the *Rājā Tarangini* that immediately after the transfer of the capital, the god Krishna appeared in a dream to the king and admonished him to raise in the lake, near the town, a fort, which should bear the name of *Srīdwaravati*, in remembrance of the place where Krishna himself had once reigned on earth. The fort was built and the name given, but in this case the *vox populi* was stronger than the *vox dei*. The chronicler notes that in his time every one called it the Inner Fort, '*abhyantara kotta*,' and strangely enough, to this very day after the lapse of 1,100 years, the village which marks the site bears the name of *Antar-kot*. The town had not been in existence a single century when it was destroyed by *Sankara Varmma* (883-901 A.D.), who employed the materials in the construction of his new capital *Sankarapura*, better known as *Pathan*, or the *Pass*. This latter name it acquired either from being the centre of the thoroughfare which connects the two ends of the valley, or as standing at the head of a small canal which led straight into the upper stream of the *Jhelam**. It is now only during a very few weeks in the year, when the rivers are flooded by the sudden melting of the snows, that this passage is navigable, and no doubt the uncertainty of communication was the cause that contributed most to the rapid abandonment of *Sankara Varmma's* foundation.

The present city of *Srinagar*, as already mentioned, was built by king *Pravara-Sena II* in the beginning of the 6th century, but at the time of the visit of the famous Chinese pilgrim *Hwen Thsang* in 631, and indeed nearly three centuries later, the ancient capital of the same name was also standing on the spot now known as *Pandathan*, and may have extended as far as *Panthasok*, two miles higher up the stream, where are the remains of a stone-bridge.

Between *Srinagar* and *Avantipur*, where the royal founder is commemorated by the ruins of his two magnificent temples, stood the town of *Padmapura*, now corrupted to *Pampur*, built during the reign of *Vrihaspati* (804 to 816 A.D.), by the king's uncle *Padma*. At the same time a shrine was dedicated to *Mahadeva* under the title of *Padmaswami*, of which there remain two fluted pillars from the colonnade and the basement of the central edifice.

A few miles above *Pampur* on the opposite bank of the river, is the small village of *Kakapuri*, a name which possibly may be a corruption of *Khagendrapura*. If so, this would be the oldest

* As a parallel instance, the same name of *Pathan* is ordinarily used in the neighbourhood to denote the village of *Kohala* on the *Murree* route, where a bridge across the *Jhelam* connects *Kashmir* with the *Panjáb*.

historical site in Kashmir, as king Khagendra flourished in the 5th century before Christ. There are some ruins on the spot, but so deeply buried in the ground that without an excavation it is impossible to ascertain their character or antiquity.

Before reaching the modern town of Islámábád, where the river ceases to be navigable, one other village is passed which claims a word of notice, viz, Latápur, the representative of the ancient Lalitá-pura, founded by king Lalitaditya (693 to 729 A D). There is nothing actually on the spot beyond its name to indicate its history, but at the neighbouring village of Lidar are two temples, one surrounded by water, which probably date from the 7th or 8th century*.

For more than 250 years, that is to say, from 1326 to 1587, Kashmir was an independent Muhammadan State, but the architectural history of this lengthened period is almost an absolute blank. It appears to have been in a special manner an age of wooden construction. The change of religion necessitated the hasty erection of buildings for public worship on a much larger scale than had been required by Hindú ritual, wood was abundant and easily worked, hence its substitution for stone, and the fashion, having once set in, continued to spread after the occasion for it had ceased. To this period may be ascribed the original foundation of the two largest ecclesiastical edifices in Kashmir, viz, the Jama Masjid and the Idgah, though undoubtedly both were extensively repaired, if not actually rebuilt, in later times. The Jama Masjid is a cloistered quadrangle about 360 feet square, with a low tower and spire in the centre of each face. Only the exterior wall is of masonry, the cloisters are divided into several aisles by slender circular pillars, each of which, even under the higher central compartments, is a single deodár tree. The effect of this winter forest of tall bare pines is unquestionably striking, but whatever beauty it possesses is due not to art, but to the natural grandeur of the forest, which has been simply trimmed* and transplanted from the mountain side to its present position. The Idgah is a building of precisely similar character, being a vast oblong hall, divided into five aisles by tall rows of deodárs supported on small stone bases.

It was in the reign of Shaháb-ud-dín (1360 to 1386 A D) that the famous Saiyid Alí Hamadani fled into Kashmir and founded an ascetic order of monks, who so rapidly increased in numbers

* This village site would appear to be of the most remote antiquity, since it is recorded in the Rájá Taranginí L. 87 that king Lava the 36th in descent from Gonarda II, the contemporary of Krishna, found-

ed at Ledari a large agra-hára or Bráhmámanical establishment, and in its neighbourhood a town called Lolora, in which were a kror minus 16 lakhs (that is, 84,00,000) stone houses.

that after the lapse of a century their solitary cells were to be found scattered over every part of the country. From the time of the annexation by the Mughal Emperors they began to diminish, and gradually became extinct, but Abul Fazi estimated them as amounting in his day to 2,000. On the spots, where the most famous of these holy men had taught and died, shrines were erected to preserve both their memory and their mortal remains, and to this day there is scarcely a village in Kashmir which has not one of these *ziyarat*s, as they are called. Ordinarily each *ziyarat* is the tomb of the saint whose name it bears, but in some cases of special sanctity several buildings in different localities commemorate the same personage, and so correspond precisely with Christian chapels. In ground plan they are identical with the *chhatras*, or Hindú monumental pavilions, of Upper India; the only difference is in the material, the *chhatras* being of masonry, while the *ziyarat*s are invariably of wood. The cella is a *barah-dari* or square building with three arches on each side, twelve in all, enclosed in an open cloister. The arches of the cella, excepting the one reserved for a doorway, are filled in with reticulated tracery, while the cloister shows a profusion of rich and often elegant carving in its rounded pillars, the spandrels of its Saracenic arches, and the quaint brackets that support the wide-spreading eaves. Strangely enough, considering ordinary Muhammadan prejudices on the subject, it is not uncommon to find rude figures of birds and other animals intermingled with conventional foliage and arabesques. The carving is generally flat and shallow, but in some of the earlier examples, and notably in an old ruined *ziyarat* near the village of Chakoti on the Murree route, the cusps of the arches and other parts of the design are as deeply moulded as in the best period of English Gothic. From the centre of the sloping roof, in place of Hindú *kalas* or finial, rises a slender gabled spire surmounted by a gilded vane. This gleaming among the trees on the mountain-side often imparts a special grace and touch as it were of civilisation to an otherwise savage landscape. The most famous *ziyarat*s are those of Hamadaní at Srinagar, of Babá Pam Rishi below Gulmarg, of Núr-ud-dín* at the village of Chrar, and of Shukrud-din on a hill overlooking the Walár Lake. All must have been originally erected soon after the death of the personages they commemorate, that is to say, in or about the 15th century. Owing to the comparatively perishable nature of the material employed, it is

* Núr ud dín was the author of a history of Kashmir written in the language of the country and called the *Mír náma*. It is not now in existence, but the narrative appears to have been of very fabulous character, judging from the extraordinary extracts made from it by Badia-ud-dín in his *Gohari Alam Tohfat us Sháhi*, the last of the Muhammadan chronicles.

probable that in no case is there much, if any, of the original fabric remaining, but there can be no doubt that all repairs were conducted with close adherence to the first design. Many of the houses erected in Srinagar at the present day have the window frames and arches of the verandahs filled in with graceful reticulated tracery, but over this it is the universal custom to paste broad sheets of old English newspapers. A subdued light is thus obtained for the interior, but the effect outside is hideously ragged.

The picturesque wooden bridges, which span the Jhelam, are traditionally ascribed to this same period of independent Muhammadan rule. One of them is still called the Zaina-kadal in memory of king Zainulabd-dín, in whose reign it was first constructed. The piers are formed by layers of closely placed deodar trunks, resting on a foundation of uncemented stones enclosed in a triangular wooden frame. The layers are put alternately length and cross ways, and each projects slightly beyond the one immediately beneath it. Thus the interval between the piers narrows as they ascend, till other deodár trunks can be laid across from one to the other, forming the roadway.

With the absorption of Kashmír into the Mughal Empire, the age of masonry returned, but now in the form of brick rather than of stone. The new buildings were intended exclusively for the use of the sovereign, who made the country an occasional summer residence, and are all characterized by a vastness of dimensions and a roughness of finish, which place them in singular contrast with the minutely elaborated creations of Hindú art. They fall under the three heads of saráes, garden palaces and mosques. The saráes occur at intervals along the old imperial road which leads through the Himalayas from Hindústán to Kashmír across the heights of the Pir Panchál. They are strong fort-like buildings, with high gateways and battlemented walls enclosing one or more open courts with a series of vaulted chambers and one row of apartments of greater pretensions facing the principal entrance. The surrounding scenery, which is often exceedingly wild and solitary, invests them with an air of grandeur, but they are utilitarian rather than artistic edifices.

The sites of the summer-palaces on the margin of the City Lake and at Varnág and Achhi-bal, are some of the most lovely spots in all Kashmír, and attest an exquisite appreciation of the picturesque combined with admirable skill in landscape gardening on the part of those by whom the selection was made. In the pavilion at the Sháhlímár garden are some magnificent columns of polished marble, but judging from the comparative meanness of the building to which they are attached, it may be inferred that they were the spoils of some Hindú temple. It is indeed

distinctly so stated by the traveller Bernier writing in the reign of Aurangzeb. Either they were brought from the neighbouring city of Srinagar, or, it may be, were floated down the Jhelam from Avantipur, where not a single pillar now remains *in situ* of the magnificent colonnade erected by king Avantivarmma in connection with his great temple. Many of these beautiful pillars have been greatly disfigured within the last few years by the inscriptions of certain gentlemen of Her Majesty's Services, who have chosen this easy but barbarous mode of immortalising their names. They could scarcely deny their own handwork, and it would surely be merely an act of justice to account them responsible for the wilful damage they have committed.

Three mosques of hewn and polished stone were erected at Srinagar in the time of the Emperors. Of these one, that at Hasanábád, has been completely demolished, and the materials employed in the construction of the Basant Ghât, the second is standing in ruins within the outer precincts of the fort on the Hari Parbat, but is now regarded chiefly as a stone quarry, the third only, called the Patthar Masjid, is still remaining entire, and is the most massive and substantial building in the city. It was founded in the reign of Jahangir by his famous queen Núrjahán, and consists of three aisles, about 180 feet long, divided by piers of the simplest possible design. Beyond a little shallow panelling on the walls, and the foliations of the Saracenic arches, there is a total absence of decoration. In consequence of a prejudice against the sex of the founder, it has always been appropriated to secular purposes, and is now used as a barn.

The restoration of a Hindú dynasty to the throne of Kashmir has not been attended by a parallel revival of Kashmir architecture. Temples, it is true, are once more built and dedicated as of old to the worship of Mahadeva, but they bear no resemblance to the graceful fanes which won for the earlier inhabitants of the country the Sanskrit title of *sástra-silpina*, or the pre-eminent architects. The only recognized form is a small square cella of the plainest masonry, surmounted by a pyramidal tower, or *sikhara*, which in the city-examples is covered with plates of tin and crowned with vanes of gilded copper. The temple attached to the Mahárajá's palace is of the same coarse and tasteless design, while the golden plates, with which the tower is overlaid, only render its ugly outlines the more conspicuous, and publish in blazing characters the sorry confession of material wealth and intellectual impotency. It may be considered a matter of congratulation and a hopeful augury that these clumsy edifices are in no sense of indigenous origin, but mere copies of debased Hindústání models constructed by foreign workmen imported for the purpose from the Panjáb. If in other branches of the fine

arts Kashmir can compete with any country of the East, it is clear that the æsthetic faculty still survives, and it can only be from want of encouragement that architecture, in which its first triumphs were achieved, has now lapsed into a state of such utter degradation. The present century has witnessed in England a complete return to the long-forgotten principles of Gothic design, a similar revival in Kashmir is not beyond hope. The ruins of the past still remain in adequate preservation to serve as a guide to the architect of the future, and were the occupant of the throne to inaugurate the movement, a national style might yet be developed from their study, which would mark his reign as an era in the modern history of Kashmir.

F S GROWSE.

ART III.—THE REVISION OF THE N W P SETTLEMENTS

THE question of the adequacy, or rather inadequacy, of the N W P Settlements, now in course of revision, and of the altered percentage at which these revisions are being made, was first mooted in the debates in Council on the Local Rates Bills of Oudh and the N W P. We propose to review the whole question as it stands at present, and as it has been commented upon by the Press, and attacked and defended by the partisans of both sides. The speeches impugning the adequacy of the revised settlements as well as the necessity or advisability of the reduced rate of assessment (50 in lieu of 66 per cent) were made by the Hon'ble George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and the Hon'ble John Strachey, and commanded especial attention. And the more particularly so, coming as they did from such high authorities and able men, men, moreover, who were known to have spent all the early years of their service in the Upper Provinces of Bengal, and who were therefore naturally supposed to be behind the scenes and thoroughly conversant with the ins and outs of the subject. What wonder then that the general public was inclined to accept the statements of these gentlemen as infallible and conclusive on this question?

The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, however, took the earliest opportunity of denying and replying to these statements, and Sir William Muir's speech at the meeting of Council held at Allahabad on the 6th of April last, was earnest, lucid, and concise. Sir William said most truly in broaching this subject that "considerable misconception prevails as to the adequacy of the assessment in the settlements now being revised. "It is not a subject that can be discussed desultorily in a debate "like the present, but"

We do not however purpose following the Lieutenant-Governor through his speech, but prefer to take as our basis the note prepared by Mr Colvin, the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, at Sir William's request. Mr Colvin's note bears on the face of it, as stated by Sir William Muir in his speech, the stamp of having "been hastily drawn up for the occasion," and, as the *Observer* remarks in an article entitled "The Rack-renting Party," it "is wanting in methodical arrangement and conciseness." There are several passages and sentences, which would doubtless on maturer consideration, have been altered, and probably the expression, "the entire cost of living," would have been so put as to save the *Economist* from a "*disingenuous*" explosion. Nevertheless the facts and statistics and inferences contained in the paper are none the

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less forcible or reliable, and it is with the facts and figures and deductions therefrom with which we have to deal, and "the argument of it (the memorandum) to any one really desirous of seeing it, is plain enough" Mr Colvin has quoted at length the remarks made by Mr Campbell and Mr Strachey, but it is not necessary to reproduce them here. It is sufficient to give the substance of them. Mr Campbell threw doubts on the adequacy of the new assessments, merely by stating that the revenue of the settlement of 1841 was four crores of rupees, or four millions sterling, and that the result of the present revision would be a revenue of only four-and-a-half at the outside, that, therefore, with regard to the great improvements and advancements of the country, the money spent in canals, railways, &c., the increase is very small. Mr Strachey attacked immediately the reduction of rate of assessment from sixty-six to fifty per cent. of the assets, saying "why this change was made I cannot say. So far as I have ever been able to discover, it was made in 1854 by the Lieutenant-Governor of the N W P on his own authority and without any serious discussion." He proceeded to quote the instance of the Bolundshuhur district (saying that the case was a strong one and perhaps an extreme one), to prove that "in reality we do not get fifty per cent., because the annual value of landed property goes on constantly and rapidly increasing." And both Mr Campbell and Mr Strachey infer most pointedly that the present revision of assessment is made almost, if not entirely, on existing rentals, concealed and kept low by the landlords until revision, but raised immediately after the new assessments are declared and the revision is effected. Therefore the utmost that is taken is 50 per cent. of a low and insufficient rental which can be immediately enhanced by the landlord when it suits his convenience, against 66 per cent. of assumed rental taken at settlement, the assumed amount having been rather in excess of the actual or attainable rental. Mr Campbell thought "that the want of exactitude told rather against the landholders, and not in their favour." He also believed, that "the settlement that had now been made had proceeded on more exact data with respect to existing rents, which was telling against the State and in favour of landlords."

"These remarks, carrying the stamp of high authority and the weight of the official utterances of the members of the Government of India must," as Mr Colvin says, "necessarily arrest attention." He then proceeds to show "that the remarks, both of Mr Campbell and Mr Strachey, are founded on a misapprehension of facts," and that "Mr Campbell's remarks derive most of their strength from an unintentional misstatement of facts." He shows most clearly that "the majority of the Benares division of this province, with the Jounpore district, is permanently settled," and that Mr Campbell's comparison

"should have been made between the revenue of the temporarily "settled districts only" Of these the old revenue is £3,400,000 whilst the estimated new revenue is £3,900,000, being an increase of £500,000 or nearly 15 per cent., instead of barely half a million on four millions. He also exposes Mr Campbell's implied inference, that the period of settlement in 1841 was unfavourable to Government owing to recent famine, but that at the present revisions there were no such unfavourable circumstances. The very districts, however, excepting Goruckpore, in which revision of settlement has been completed, "were situated in the very heart of the mutiny and famine tract. "So that of the causes enumerated by Mr Campbell as existing "in 1837, famine existed in 1860, civil war was added to it, "railroads in neither case existed"

In commenting on Mr Strachey's illustration, Bolundshuhur, he let slip a grand opportunity, as did also Sir William Muir, in not pointing out Mr Strachey's error in arithmetic, in making out that the revenue, which only five years ago was equal to fifty per cent. of the rental, "is now equal to only about *thirty-five per cent*" In other words the annual rental of the private proprietors has "increased fifteen per cent in five years." This error was mentioned at the time in one or more of the Calcutta papers, and exposed in the *Pioneer* in a letter headed "Arithmetic in high places." That it is not a mere clerical error, or slip of the tongue, is evident from the same error having been repeated in the Government of India's despatch on the Bolundshuhur settlement. It is scarcely necessary, we think, to add that if the rental has increased fifteen per cent., the revenue which was fifty per cent. cannot have fallen to only thirty-five per cent. of the new rental, but will be just forty-three and-a-half (43½) per cent. From the figures given in the Bolundshuhur settlement despatch, Mr Strachey was correct in saying that the rental had increased fifteen per cent,* and consequently

* The figures given in the Despatch show that the estimated present rental is 14·6 per cent in excess of the rental on which the assessment was made. "The fact remains "that at the time of settlement the "rent-rolls were ascertained and believed to be 24·6 lakhs, and five "years later they are estimated to "be 28·2 lakhs."

Now 28·2—24·6 = 3·6 lakhs the amount of increase, and 3·6 lakhs is 14·6 per cent. increase on 24·6 lakhs. Again, the revenue is 1·23 lakh,

and the estimated present rental is 28·2 lakhs, of which rental the revenue is said by Mr Strachey to be only 35 per cent., but it is 43·6 per cent.

The Despatch quotes Sir William Muir "that if a settlement were "now to be made in reference to "present rentals, and the evidence "now available as to assets, there "would, in all probability, be an increase of about a lakh and three "quarters of rupees more or less, i.e., "about 14 per cent. on the revised

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wrong in the startling announcement that the revenue which had undoubtedly been fifty per cent of the *then* rental at the time of revision was *now*, only five years afterwards, only thirty-five per cent. of the *present* rental. Mr Strachey has also committed another error which, to bring it correct, requires toning down by twelve years. He says—"If a new settlement were *now* to be made we should get, under the present system, £141,000 instead of £123,000 a year, and if the rates of the old settlement were in force, we should get £188,000. Under the latter supposition we are losing £65,000 a year, and the total result of the new settlement for thirty years will be that, by the time it expires, we shall have given away to private parties, in this single district *no less than* £1 950 000, which under former rulers would have been received by the State." He acknowledges the assessment was correct *when it was made*, and the antithesis is *now*, and then he proceeds to multiply £65,000 by 30 forgetting that *now* 18, and not 30, years remain of the thirty years term of settlement which ends on 30th June 1889. It only makes a difference of rather more than one-third, that is all. *Indian Public Opinion*, however, quite eclipsed Mr Strachey's error, when, (taking for granted that the thirty-five per cent mentioned by him was right) it proceeded to correct Mr Strachey's figures and to show that we are losing £111 000 a year, and the total result of the new settlement for thirty years will be that by the time it expires, we shall have given away to private parties, in this single district, no less than £3,330,000, which under former rulers would have been received by the State, &c &c. So much for mere attention to figures which we wonder should have been paraded before our Chancellor of the Exchequer with entire impunity. "In other words the annual rental of the private proprietors has increased *eighty-five* per cent in five years, or from £123,000 to £228,000." Not only is the thirty year mistake repeated, but the writer also confuses *rental* with *proprietors' profits*, or possibly *rental* with *revenue*, as only with either supposition is the increased percentage about 85, instead of what the increase of rental should be, nearly 43 per cent (supposing still the 35 per cent to be correct, which it is not).

To return to the point, however. What becomes of Mr Strachey's argument and illustration when, in this *strong* and "*extreme*" case of a district assessed immediately after the mutiny and utter disorganization, succeeded by sickness and famine,—the revision itself being followed by large extensions

jumma." And this is quite right, what Mr Strachey said, which we but it is a very different thing from have shown to be wrong

of canal works and of the extension of the railway through the district to Delhi, as well as by an unprecedented continuous run of high prices, the assessments moreover having been declared permanent and the people believing them to be so—it turns out that, after five years' time, the proportion of the Government revenue had fallen from fifty to rather less than forty-four (44) per cent. of the rental*. What cause for wonder is there that this should be the case? Is it not on the contrary rather surprising that under all these exceptional circumstances the proportion of the revenue to the present rental is not lower than it is—is not in fact nearer 35 per cent than 44 per cent.? We have very little hesitation in asserting that, if Mr Strachey had made out the account correctly, he would never have laid such stress on the palpable inadequacy of the assessments, *and our not getting even fifty per cent*, and would not have used the Bolundshuhur district as an illustration. It is quite possible too that, but for this unfortunate mistake in figures, which has proved a perfect *pons asinorum* to the Government of India and the *Indian Public Opinion*, Mr Strachey might have held less extreme views on the enormous sacrifice of income by our existing system of settlements. Mr Colvin then, having cleared the ground by correcting the misstatements, proceeds to examine the *bond fide* objections. And as regards the first “that whereas under the settlements of 1841 “we took 66 per cent. of the rental, we now take 50 per cent. “only,” he shows that the question is not accurately stated “The point at issue is whether the margin of rental left to the landlord is sufficient to enable him to subsist in independence.” And he shows that inclusive of cesses, the demand on the landlord is sixty (60) per cent. “When therefore Mr Campbell says that “we now give the landlords *one-half of the rents* as their share, “and when Mr Strachey adds that we take 50 instead of 66 per “cent, they fail to represent the fact correctly. It is not a half- “but two-fifths only, of the rental that is left to the landlord”

* For the sake of argument we have accepted the estimated rental put down at 28.2 lakhs as correct, but it must be borne in mind that it is only an *estimate* and not the actual present existing rental of the district. We could easily demonstrate that it is a very high estimate made by an officer specially deputed to ascertain and show that the assessment of the district was inadequate, and also that his estimate was made entirely on the rental of one year, an

excessively and exceptionally good year, and to a great extent on rents in kind. Not only was it an extremely plentiful harvest in that year 1275 Fussils, but also prices were excessively high, the harvest prices averaging from 25 to 27 seers for the rupee for wheat against an average of 37 seers for the rupee, the prevailing average according to the printed Bolundshuhur Report, and an actual of over 30 seers this last harvest.

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We will pass on now to the second objection and return hereafter to "whether 40 per cent of the net rental is too large a share to leave to the landlord" The second objection then is, as stated by Mr Colvin, "that the assessment is based on the old rates "fixed at the former settlement," but as exception may be taken to this, we prefer to say *on the existing rates and rentals at the end of the expiring settlement* Mr Colvin, by numerous quotations from published rent-rate reports of various settlement officers, shows clearly the utter fallacy of this statement It is shown beyond a doubt that average rates are carefully deduced from accurate and reliable rates and rentals, and that the assumed average rates used in assessment are in excess of the real and actual deduced averages, so as to meet all immediate enhancements which are inseparable from revision of settlement. We cannot refrain from quoting Sir William Muir's own words — "No doubt rentals have a tendency "to increase after settlement, but this tendency is not overlooked "by settlement officers Their instructions are, while not discounting mere probabilities or theoretical prospects of enhanced rentals, yet to assess on the widest induction of facts and the broadest estimates of value ' The very next sentence might be studied with advantage by those who clamour for a large and sudden increase in revenue, because prices and the value of land are rising, and are now considerably in advance of what they were eight and ten years ago "It must also be remembered that the rise of "rent is not in immediate proportion to rise of prices, it is "shackled by custom, as well as impeded by law, of which the "policy is to maintain a class of beneficial occupants of the soil "Settlement officers must take things as they find them, they "must deal with facts and not with theories"

Thus far we believe no attempt even has been made by any of the writers in the Press of India to show that Mr Colvin's facts and figures are wrong, or to upset his corrections of the inaccuracies and unintentional misrepresentations of Messrs Campbell and Strachey All the attacks have been made on that portion of Mr Colvin's note which we have as yet omitted to comment upon—those at least which have confined themselves to the question at issue, and have not flown off at a tangent and abused the whole system as wrong and faulty from the very roots We believe, therefore, that we may say with safety that the reply of the N W P Government to Messrs Campbell's and Strachey's strictures, that the increase in revenue is insignificant, that assessments are made simply on old rates, or on existing rates and rentals which are inadequate, and that we take only fifty per cent of the rental, and in reality not even that, is unanswerable and has been accepted as full and conclusive We at least have seen no argument against,

or attempted refutation of, the reply of the N W P Government up to this point, although the following which appeared in the *Daily Examiner* is doubtless an attack upon it —

“To show that two and two do not make five, is not demonstrating that a quantity or magnitude which ought to be six ought to continue to be only four. And yet that is the style of contention of the late Memorandum of the Board of Revenue, N W P, in endeavouring to establish that the Hon’ble Mr Strachey erred when, in Council at Allahabad, he in substance said that the Government demand and receive from the landowners of those provinces nearly one-third less rent or revenue than they ought. But were the North-West Board, and every official of those provinces, to keep writing for the next half-a dozen years, they would fail to clear the local Government and the majority of the settlement officers of the imputation now well-established against them, that notwithstanding that a marked rise in the prices of produce set in in 1855,* and has continued since, they failed to appreciate the significance of that rise with relation to the land revenue, until within the last three or four years, and then only through having had that significance forced upon their official consciousness by several Indian journals.”

There is, however, no argument in this, nor any attempted refutation beyond the simple declaration of what the writer assumes to be a foregone conclusion. But is it a foregone conclusion? In order to try the accuracy of the above-quoted assertion, as well as for our own satisfaction, and also to prove by another test the adequacy of the N W P earlier revisions of assessment, we have had prepared a comparative statement of cultivated area, assumed rent-rates, and percentages of soil on cultivated area, for the contiguous pergunnahs in the Bolundshuhur and Allygurh districts. The full figured statements will be found in an appendix, and to them we invite careful attention. For the purpose of comparison, the denominations of soil of the Allygurh district had to be reduced, so as to agree with the fewer divisions of soil used in the Bolundshuhur district. The returns are taken from the rent-rate reports of the Allygurh district published in the Revenue Reporter, N W P, and from the printed report of the Bolundshuhur settlement. The reports from which we have derived our information show that the pergunnahs of Allygurh in 1870, though in many ways similar to those of Bolundshuhur in 1860 and 1861, are somewhat superior to them, and more especially in the extent of irrigation. Nevertheless, the rates assumed as average-rates and basis of assessment in the adjacent pergunnahs of the Bolundshuhur district, nine and ten

* The marked rise did not set in fully until 1859-60 until at least 3 years later, and not

years ago, were very similar to those *now* proposed for the pergunnahs, continuations of the same tracts of country, in the Allygurh district. The resulting incidence per cultivated acre of the revised assessment is, of course, higher in Allygurh than in Bolundshuhur, because the percentages of soils paying the higher rates are larger. But this in no way affects the question in point, which is whether or not the settlement officers of Bolundshuhur (Messrs Freeling and Lowe, as the report informs us, for Mr R Currie was in these cases only the assistant at first and revising officer afterwards to introduce the permanent settlement) merely took rates as they found them, or ascertaining actual rates made a proportionate increase upon them partly for error or unnecessary depression and partly for anticipated rise in rates consequent on rise in prices. We would gladly have made similar comparisons on the other side of Bolundshuhur with the Meerut district, if any statistics from Meerut had been procurable, or of any other districts besides Bolundshuhur, but no reports have been published. We have been obliged to content ourselves with what we could get, and we think that the comparison tells favourably for Bolundshuhur, and against the foregone conclusion of the *Daily Examiner*. Any one looking at Mr Smith's Rent-rate Reports of Tehseels Atrowlee and Koel, can see that he has ascertained most carefully what the actual existing genuine rent-rates are and has pitched his assumed average rates above them. The only inference therefore is, that the settlement officers of Bolundshuhur did the same, and this is well borne out by the fact that now, nine, ten, and eleven years after the revised assessments were made (for we see pergunnah Agotuh was assessed as far back as 1859 A D by Mr Charles Currie) the proportion of the revenue to the present rental is nearly forty-four (44) per cent, and it never professed to be more than fifty per cent. We cannot help thinking that in so exceptional a case as this is shown to have been, the assessment must have been a very full fifty per cent. in fact fifty per cent anticipating increase.

And now we come to the "Debateable Land," to the question "whether 40 per cent of the net rental is too large a share to leave to the landlord." The only argument brought against this is that we left the landlord less than 40 per cent before, and he rather seemed to like it, in fact preferred it, and grew fat upon it, and the country prospered, and the value of property rose, and all because we were taking 66, and sometimes even 70 per cent of the net rental, and for no other reason on earth.

Doubtless when boiled down to this, it does sound very absurd, but listen to what Mr Strachey says—"If it was not," (*i.e.*, the taking 66 per cent) "in accordance with ancient custom and with the feelings of the people, I believe that the main divergence was really this, that never had any Government at any previous

"time taken so little The proof that the demand was not excessive seems to me to be absolutely complete The best proof that can be given consists in the fact of the vast progress in wealth and prosperity which the North-Western Provinces have made during the last thirty years, and in the growth of private property in the land of immense value" But what is the fair, and indeed only, deduction from this, but what we have already stated above? And what is in reality the cause of "this vast progress in wealth and prosperity" and "in the growth of private property in the land of immense value?" Why, undoubtedly, a firm Government keeping the general peace and preventing murder and rapine, increase of population and a long thirty years' lease giving the certainty of large ultimate profit to those who would only avail themselves of the very large margin which remained for improvements. *Not a thirty years' assessment at 66 per cent*, for as Mr Colvin says most truly, and proves most clearly, no such thing has ever been known "Before many years had expired from the conclusion of the former settlement, the extension of the cultivation and of irrigation had reduced the Government share of the assets to 50 per cent. In course of time it fell in many districts as low as 40 per cent, as will be clearly seen when it is remembered that, in order to raise the Government demand to 50 per cent of the rental, an addition of 25 per cent has, in many cases, had to be made to the existing demand." Read by the light of the information thus given us, the lesson to be learnt from the last settlement would seem to be this. At its commencement while it fell at 66 per cent, it was unendurable Reduction followed on its heels, and a dangerous and startling transfer of landed property By-and-bye cultivation extended, and the rates of the Government demand fell The settlement succeeded not because it was moderate at the outset, but because circumstances eventually brought it to moderation "The vast progress was *post hoc* and not *propter hoc* It owed its existence to the margin of cultivable land, not to the tender mercies of a 66 per cent. settlement." We give an extract from the article of the *Indian Observer* of July 22nd entitled "The Rack-renting Party" to show how that writer puts it "If the settlements just expiring were made at the ratio of sixty-six per cent. of the rental, and if they still retained that ratio, as these people seem to think, then where is that increase of revenue, so much desired by them, to come from? If, on the other hand, the revenue does not bear that ratio, and has not for years borne it, what becomes of that 'absolutely complete proof that the demand at sixty-six per cent. was not excessive,' so vaunted by Mr Strachey? To what is the prosperity of the North-West to be attributed? To the fact we

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"suppose that too much was not taken under the old settlement But sixty-six per cent was taken Therefore sixty-six per cent is not too much But unfortunately if sixty-six per cent has all along been taken, and it is necessary for their argument that they should suppose so, then where is the great increase of revenue that we ought to have, where is that mass of wealth belonging to the State, but abandoned by infatuated officials, to landlords of our own creation?"

The same subject is ably treated in an article in the *Pioneer* of July 5th, entitled "The Land Question," but we refrain from giving quotations for fear of becoming wearisome

The argument used by Mr Colvin against the 66 per cent assessment is that it broke down, where it really was 66 per cent., and could not be speedily reduced by extended cultivation, that in reality the assessment was only pitched at 66 per cent because it was well-known that the 66 per cent would quickly fall to 60 and lower, and a long lease of 30 years was being given, whereas up to that time the settlements had been for much shorter periods "The conditions under which it was resolved to take 66 per cent of the rental had disappeared when in 1854 the N W Government resolved to reduce the proportion of the Government demand" The conditions, therefore, under which it was possible for the landlord in 1840 to accept a demand at 66 per cent had disappeared, and, so far as could then be seen, no compensating conditions had taken their place"

The writer of the "Rack-renting Party" says, "we are not justified in keeping to the former standard unless we can show that there is a margin left for improvement as great as there was then, unless, in fact, we can prove that the average incidence of the revenue over the coming 30 years will be as light as it was during the last 30 years, in proportion to the profits of the land"

We agree with Sir William Muir in his "conviction that, under the existing condition of property, and with the present advanced state of agriculture, the assessments now being made are, as a rule, not lower or not materially lower, than is required for the well-being of the people In short the standard introduced by Mr J R Colvin in 1854 well became the broad statesmanship and far-seeing views of that great man" But unfortunately Sir William's conviction goes for nothing, at least so says the *Economist*—"To begin with, Sir William Muir does not come into court with clean hands He is almost as much answerable for the settlements made in the Central Provinces, as Sir Richard Temple himself, since it was to his review the proceedings were submitted by the Supreme Government This question of unduly lowering the assessment is, therefore, we may reasonably believe, a sore subject with him."

Mr Colvin, in order to show that *all* landlords are not rolling in wealth and able to pay with ease an assessment above fifty per cent, entered into an explanation of the proprietary tenures, and proceeded to show how large is the number of petty proprietors who can scarcely manage to subsist in any comfort as proprietors on the margin of profits now left to them. He said "unless we are to take "from the wealthy according to their wealth, and from the needy "according to their need, it is evident that we must fix our standard "by the measure of the wants of the less wealthy section of land- "holders. The chain is no stronger than its weakest link." This has been a good deal criticised, especially by the *Englishman* and the *Economist*, the *Englishman's* criticism being that "the net "income of the individual landholder is not a proper criterion of the "amount justly claimable by the Government as land-revenue." In a second article the *Englishman* enters into detail in explanation of the above, and the logical conclusion arrived at is that the Board of Revenue should, if it means to be consistent, "go a little further, and, instead of basing the assessment "on the *average* net income of each proprietor in these per- "gunahs, select the smallest proprietor they can find, and reduce "the assessment, so as to leave him an income of Rs 6 per mensem." We think that the *Englishman* quite overlooked the fact that this illustration of the small proprietary incomes of many petty landholders was, as the *Pioneer* said "immaterial to the vital issue," and was only one of several arguments used, and not the only one. Mr Colvin says "the less wealthy *section* of landholders," not the poorest individual shareholder whom you can find. His argument clearly is, our landlords in the N W P are not like they are in lower Bengal, wealthy men with ample means, but a large section of them consists of peasant proprietors whose means and condition must be recognized and taken into consideration, and it is not the policy of Government to oust this class in favour of bankers and money-lenders. It was not Mr Colvin who said that the net income of the individual landholder is a proper criterion of the amount justly claimable by Government as land revenue, nor do we see that he ever implied it. It was the *Englishman* who stated it was "*not a proper criterion*," and then proceeded to demonstrate the correctness of the proposition by the "*ad absurdum*" line of argument.

The *Economist* in the June number in an article entitled "Who is right, Mr Strachey or Sir William Muir?"—makes a furious attack on this particular part of Mr Colvin's memorandum, selecting it "as a crucial illustration of its value." This attack has been the subject of several letters and articles, and in quoting parts of them we shall sufficiently show the line of attack taken up by the *Economist*. But we cannot refrain from first express-

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ing our regret that a paper so ably conducted as the *Economist* is, and professing to be a statistical and logical compilation, should have sought refuge in such special pleading and contortions of facts and statistics as are exhibited in the use of such phrases and assumptions as the following—"The farming profits of 6 "acres of irrigated land of fine quality in these provinces would "far exceed the (farming) profits of 60 acres of ordinary land in "our own country" The constant harping upon the expressions—"the entire cost of living"—"sugar-cane alternated with rice"—"Mr Halsey of Amritsur points out that the farming profits "upon certain crops in the neighbourhood of large towns in the "North-West is nearly £27 per acre after paying the Government "assessment and all expenses of cultivation"—the fallacy of all of these has been shown, chiefly in the *Pioneer* and *Observer*, and the impression left upon the mind when coming across any assertion or fact in the *Economist*, which seems at all doubtful, now is, that it must be taken "*cum grano*," for the "aim is at the stars" All implicit reliance upon the infallibility of the *Economist* is, for the present at least dispelled

But we must return from our regret and give the quotations already promised As regards the tone and style of the *Economist's* attack the writer of a letter in the *Pioneer* of the 19th of July, signed N W P, says —

"The last number of the *Economist* contains a most acrimonious and, it must be added, unjust criticism on the Board of Revenue's memorandum on the revised settlements of these provinces The *Economist* calls this memorandum 'sophistical,' 'misleading,' and 'disingenuous,' insinuates that the statistics quoted are incorrect, and accuses the North-West Government of 'throwing dust into men's eyes to defeat inquiry' He declares that it 'would be wholly unprofitable to follow the memorandum through its numerous windings,' and prefers to give what he calls a 'crucial illustration of its value' I think the writer ought to have supported the very serious charges which he has advanced, by refuting the conclusions at which the Board has arrived, not by selecting one of his arguments for criticism, but I hope to show that even on the point chosen by himself for attack, the assailant is hopelessly in the wrong"

The *Observer* says, "this article is a very rabid attack on Mr Colvin for the memorandum "

As regards the question of "disingenuousness" and the statistics of proprietors' holdings, N W P (who writes as one thoroughly acquainted with the district which contains Atrowlee) says —

"The memorandum, in showing the usual size of the homestead, quoted the statistics of eleven pergunnahs recently re-settled, in which the land actually in cultivation of the proprietors aver-

aged six (6) acres The *Economist* charges the Board with 'disingenuousness' and with garbling the statistics, because they did not also quote *Atrawlee* in which the average homestead is 23 acres He adds 'that the Mynpoory and Bareilly holdings instanced by Mr Colvin are exceptionally small there can be little doubt So much for the proprietor's own farm Instead of an average of six acres each, we find it 20 or 23 at all events in *Atrawlee*

I can assure the *Economist* that the eleven pergunnahs instanced afford fair examples of the amount of land usually in the actual cultivation of proprietors and that the case of *Atrawlee* is altogether exceptional It is owned chiefly by talukdars who in many of their villages set apart a portion of land as a home farm This farm is cultivated by the proprietors' servants, and the produce goes partly to the support of the farm establishment and partly to his granary for the support of the household and the (grain) wages of his retainers Sometimes the home farm is cultivated by ryots, entirely dependent on the talukdar, and unable to obtain occupancy rights, so that the latter can at any time take the farm into his own hands Thus an unusually large amount of land is known in *Atrawlee* as 'zemindar's seer, but I believe that the extent actually cultivated by the proprietors and their families is exceptionally small, as will be seen by any one who reads Mr Smith's account of the distribution of property and the economical condition of the pergunnah The social state of *Atrawlee* is exceptional even in the Allypore district, and very exceptional as regards the whole province, and nothing would be more misleading than to regard the farms, which its great proprietors keep under their own management as illustrations of the actual homesteads of the 'peasant landlords' of the North-West It may be added that if *Atrawlee* was omitted, *Saharunpur* was also omitted Now the average size of the homestead in the *Saharunpur* district is shown to be *five acres* only'

The *Observer* puts it in these words —

"Misapprehension also of a less pardonable nature, is displayed by the writer of the article To show that the landlord's home farms are larger than Mr Colvin would allow, he quotes from Mr Smith's report on *Atrawlee* in Allypore But is he not aware that *Atrawlee* is in the hands of two or three large landowners, and that these homestead farms in *Atrawlee* are only lands so entered at nominal rates, simply to conceal the true rentals and avoid the growth of occupancy rights?"

On turning to the Bolundshuhur Settlement Report we see that the number of separate holdings cultivated by proprietors in the whole district, is 14,206, the area 166,541 acres, and the average per holding 11.72 acres But we also see that there are

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a great many large landowners in the district, and apprehend that much of this land is merely nominal "zemindar's seer" cultivated by tenants

On the question of mixing up *farming profits* with *rent*, and that the homestead is the best land in the village, we extract the following quotations—

From the *Observer* —

"But now we come to Mr Colvin's great sin—his exceedingly disingenuous statement, that many of the petty proprietors in the North-West have only five rupees a month to meet the 'entire cost of living' The memorandum is called misleading, because it has no application to the lands held by single or by few owners, but only to lands held by communities of village proprietors. The writer of it is called 'disingenuous, because in making the calculation of the petty proprietors' profits, he has taken no account of his farming profits, but only of his receipts as rent

As to the farming profits, let us inform the *Economist* that hitherto the assessment has not been made on the *farming profits*, but on the *rent*, hence Mr Colvin omitted to take the farming profits into account. He might as well have taken into account the proceeds of money-lending or highway robbery, a course of livelihood likely to meet with many professors, if the rack-renters have their way. If the *Economist* wishes the land revenue to be based on farming profits as well as rents, let him say so"

From N W P's letter —

"In calculating the income of the proprietor, the Board assumes that the homestead 'can be let at a rack-rent of double the rent paid by ordinary tenants' They thus calculate the 'landowners' profits' at a little more than Rs 5 per month to 'meet the cost of living of a family' Now, any one who has read the memorandum, with ordinary care, and without a 'foregone conclusion' to condemn it, must have seen that it only discusses the landowner's profits *quoad landowner*, that it assumes in the calculation that all the land is let, and that in its anxiety not to under-estimate the profit, it has valued the seer land at a rate higher in proportion to the tenant's 'land' than it has ever been valued before. Yet the *Economist* says that this is an 'exceedingly disingenuous' statement that 'no account is taken of the fact that a six acres' homestead, consisting as it does of the best land in the village, will of itself *meet the entire cost of a man's living*'"

'But I ask whether the *Economist* was not aware that the Board discussed the amount of the *net* profit of the land, not the *farming* profit, that their inquiry was simply as to the amount of this *net* profit which the State left to the landowner, and that the State has no more concern with the *farming* profits of the latter than

with his profits as an indigo-planter or a money-lender Is he not aware that the State shares not in the gross amount which the land produces, but on the amount for which it can be let, and that we have no right to take into account the fact that a man cultivates a part of his land instead of letting it all to tenants?"

From the article, "The Land Question," in the *Pioneer* of July 5th —

"But the most serious charge brought against the calculation is that it is disingenuous, because no account is taken of the fact that the homestead, consisting of the best land in the village, will of itself meet the entire cost of a man's living If the writer means that the landholder can live upon the profits of his homestead, defraying from it the land-revenue chargeable thereon, and pocketing the net rental accruing on the rest of his holding, we recommend him to reconsider his position But that a man often lives solely on the proceeds of his homestead is perfectly true, and perfectly compatible with the figures given by the Board The profits of the homestead are retained by the landholder for his own consumption The rental of his other lands is assigned to the payment of the gross Government revenue But how does this affect the illustration? Similarly, it must be denied that the homestead is composed necessarily of the best lands It is inaccurate to say that there are no lands so good as those of the homestead though it may be allowed that they are usually of the better class It is absurd too to suppose that sugar alternating with rice is the ordinary crop of the homestead Sugar, it may be pointed out by the way, is not usually grown upon rice lands"

The question, however, is now no longer whether the North-West system has been and is being fairly and correctly worked, but whether the system itself is a right and proper one, or rather it is called on to show cause why it should not be summarily condemned as faulty and rotten to the core Not only is this the cry of a portion of the Press, but it is directly mentioned in the Government Despatch on the Bolundshuhur Settlement in these words—Para 7—' Whether the conditions under which settlements are now being made for a term of 30 years in the North-Western Provinces, give sufficient security for maintaining the just rights of the State, and for preventing the sacrifice of any portion of that share of the rental of the land which the State is entitled to receive, is a general question of a very serious character It can hardly be denied that such instances as the present throw grave doubts upon the sufficiency of the existing system As regards this particular district, I am to state that, while the Governor General in Council accepts the Lieutenant-Governor's conclusion, that the confirmation of the settlement is necessary,

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"he does so with extreme reluctance, and only because he feels that the loss of revenue is, in this case, a less serious evil than that which would follow from the long delay which would attend any attempt to revise the principles on which the settlement has been made" Para 26—"The Governor-General in Council would ask His Honor whether it does not follow that there is something essentially faulty in the existing system of assessment" We have put italics to draw attention to the important expressions in the quotations.

The whole subject is now reduced to a mere question of £ s d. Money, say they, we *must* have, and never mind how we get it. This is very happily put in the Land Question article from which we have already quoted—"It is the boast of the Village Community that it has outlived Empires Is the boast to be once more put to the test? There is, however, one striking similarity in all these projects Whatever is done to the land, one thing must never be lost sight of You may take up the landholder, or you may take up the tenant, but you must before all things trowser the dollars"

The concluding paragraphs from two different articles in the *Observer* are well worthy of reproduction in full, and we think that the Supreme Government will do well not to turn a deaf ear to the good advice there given —

"If we had space we would say more of the danger of yielding to the rack-renting party One word we will say to the *Economist* Let him read the effusions of his own followers in the *Indian Public Opinion* and elsewhere Do the writers know what they mean when, speaking of the proprietors in the North-West, they talk of 'sweeping away these middlemen,' and of assessing the land-revenue by native agency working by contract? We are not afraid that men who hold such opinions will ever get power, or having got it, will keep it long But to have such things written in respectable papers, and disseminated by the Native Press, does infinite mischief If the Editor of the *Economist* would take the trouble to learn and understand the land system of the North-West, he would be the first to condemn such pernicious nonsense"

"We must, however, raise our voice against any countenance being given, by person in authority, to that cry for the demolition of the North-Western Provinces zemindars that has been led by the *Indian Economist* The question whether those zemindars and their rights are of our own creation or existed before our rule, may have an historical or antiquarian interest But we deny that, except to a madman, it can be of any political importance The mere discussion of it, or allusion to it by the Government of India, will do incalculable mischief There are some expressions in the

Bolundshuhur letter, that might be interpreted to show a tendency towards Mr Knight's theories. We hope earnestly that Lord Mayo will see that no such dangerous and foolish speculations are suffered to appear in public correspondence. On the low ground of expediency, the events in Oudh and the North-West in 1857 are sufficient to show what would be the result of any such tampering with the tenure of property. The standard of assessment, the share to be taken by the State, the period of the settlement, are all questions that may be legitimately, and, by competent persons, usefully discussed. The question with whom the settlement is to be made is one that never ought to be opened, and, unless it is desired to destroy all confidence in British honesty and stability of purpose, it never will be opened by the Government of India."

It gives us great pleasure to find from the August number of the *Indian Economist* that that paper now disclaims "leading the cry for the demolition of the North-West Provinces zemindaris" and that "were the zemindaree rights of the North-West in the least danger, the *Indian Economist* would perhaps not be last in the field for their defence."

There is however no denying the fact that the would-be disciples of the *Indian Economist* continue to take up the cry, which they believe was opened by the *Indian Economist*, the "*Mad Rack Renter*" to wit, who styles himself one of "the body of thinkers in India who adopt the views of Mr R Knight" and "whose utopia is the absence of landlords."

After such great and widespread misapprehension on the part of friends and foes as to the views held by the *Indian Economist* regarding the landlords of the North-Western Provinces, might not similar misapprehension be found to exist regarding the meaning of the passages from the Government Despatch quoted above as to the "something essentially faulty in the existing system of assessment?" Or as the basis of the accusations, and the Bolundshuhur illustration used, have been shown to be erroneous, is it not within the bounds of possibility that the Supreme Government may, in proper time, acknowledge that the conclusions as to the "*something essentially faulty*" are themselves the most faulty part of the whole subject? We live in hopes of seeing this misconception cleared up as satisfactorily as that about the views of the *Indian Economist*.

APPENDIX TO REVIEW OF NWP SETTLEMENTS (*vide* page 41)

Details of cultivated area and rates used in the assessment of the contiguous Pergunnahs of the Aligarh and Bolundshukur Districts of the N W P

TUHSEEL ATROWLEE, ZILLAH ALLYGURH, 1870 A D										PERGUNNAH DIBAIR ZILLAH BOLUNDSHUR, 1861 A D									
DENOMINATION	Area in acres	Rent rate		Percentage of soil on total area cultivated	THE SAME AMALGAMATED FOR COMPARISON			Area in acres	Rent rate		Percentage of soil on total area cultivated								
		Rs	A P		Area	Rate	Percentage		Rs	A P									
(Irrigated Baruh	6,113	12 4 8		4 06	13 320	10 6 7	8 85	4,457	11 0 0	6 65									
Do Munjha	7,217	8 12 6		4 79															
Unirrigated Baruh	554	5 4 3		0 36	1,461	4 3 6	0 96	349	7 0 0	0 44									
Do Munjha	907	3 8 2		0 60															
Irrigated Outlying	59,847	4 6 3		39 76	59,847	4 6 3	39 76	26,581	4 0 0	33 56									
Unirrigated do 1st	20 820	2 10 2		13 83	69,654	1 15 0	46 27	45,073	2 0 0	56 93									
Do do 2nd	48 834	1 10 4		32 44															
Baruh and Munjha	727	5 4 3		0 48				None	None	1 20									
Outlying 1st	2 059	7 14 5		1 36				961	9 4 0	2 22									
Do 2nd	3 269	2 10 2		2 16	-			1,769	3 12 0										
Incidence of 50 per cent revenue per cultivated acre 1 14 5										Ditto 1 9 6									

TUHSEEL KOEL, ZILLAH ALLYGHUR, 1870 A D										ZILLAH BOLUNDSHUHUR. PERGUNNAH PUHASOO, PERGUNNAH KHOOMJA, A D 1860			
DENOMINATION	Area in acres	Rent rate	Percentage	THE SAME AMALGAMATED FOR COM PARISON			Area in acres	Rent rate	Percentage	Area in acres	Rent-rate	Percentage	
				Area	Rate	Percentage							
Irrigated Baruh	7,768	Rs A P 11 8 0	5 10		Rs A P 9 12 0	11 23	Rs A P 11 0 0		Rs A P 12 0 0	5 36			
Irrigated Munjha	9 325	8 4 0	6 13	17,093				4,266					
Unirrigated Baruh	124	5 4 0	0 08										
Do Munjha	214	3 8 0	0 14	338	4 2 0	0 22		378	6 0 0	0 46			
Irrigated Outlying	102 303	4 9 0	67 28	102,303	4 9 0	67 28	4 0 0	38 29	34, 60	4 0 0	42 36		
Unirrigated do 1st	16,365	2 12 0	10 76										
Do 2nd	15 935	1 12 0	10 48	32,300	2 4 0	21 24	2 0 0	56 64	42,108	2 0 0	52 02		
Incidence of 50 per cent revenue per cultivated acre 2 5 2										Ditto 1 8 9		Ditto 1 10 6	

ART IV—ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN MADRAS.

Act IV of 1871—An Act to provide funds for expenditure on objects of local public utility and improvement, and to constitute Local Boards for the due administration of such funds

THE legislation embodied in Act IV of 1871, is the most important that Madras has originated for many years, but it is with only one branch of that legislation that we can now deal. Among the objects of local public utility, which the Act endeavours to promote, education is specially designated, and it may be well to consider by what means, and in what direction, education will be influenced by the provisions of the Act.

And at the outset it must be remarked that as the improvements which the Act seeks to promote, are expressly stated to be "local and public," so, in the matter of education, its aim is to meet a similar need, that is, to provide *elementary* education for the masses. Although it may not be easy to define the limits within which elementary education must be confined, since that education which teaches the rudiments of any branch of knowledge is no less truly elementary education than the first lessons in the alphabet, still those who are seeking to popularise and spread education in India, will readily agree that the true elementary education required by this country's needs, may be safely confined to instruction in the local vernaculars, with reasonable facilities of learning English, held out to those who desire it but not forced upon those classes who neither need nor demand it. In order to realise the scope of this new educational measure, our readers must be reminded of the system, (if it deserves the name) which existed down to the present year. So far as Government, represented by the Educational Department, has in the rural districts of the Madras Presidency endeavoured to supply education at all, it has acted in three different directions.

First, directly by founding schools under Madras Act VI of 1863, secondly, by aiding with money-grants Anglo-vernacular schools founded by private effort, and supported mainly by private subscription, thirdly, by subsidising those elementary village schools of which the masters submitted to official inspection. Schools founded under Act VI of 1863 or the Godavery Act,—its name is derived from the district in which it was introduced and chiefly worked,—were known as 'rate schools' from the rate or cess of $\frac{1}{4}$ anna per rupee on the land assessment by which they were supported. The Act was worked somewhat after this manner. A certain number of local officials in the tahsildars' and other

cutcherries—men with sons to educate and too poor as a rule to send them to live at the head-quarters of the district, and to attend the zillah school, putting their heads together, prepared a memorial, to which the headmen and principal shopkeepers of the neighbourhood were induced to append their signatures

In this the Collector was informed that the ryots and other inhabitants of Golkondapuram had long felt the need of a sound education, and now prayed the Collector to urge the Government to mulct them of an additional 3 per cent land tax, and to free them from the ignorance in which they too long had lain. It mattered little that the ryots in whose name the petition was made, knew nothing of its existence and cared less for the education for which it prayed. The application was sent on to Government, and shortly a notification appeared in the Gazette declaring that the villagers undermentioned were to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per rupee additional land assessment, and were to have a school, of which the talúk officials and a few other Bráhmans were made managers

It is conceivable that in a community really desirous for education, such a system might have been worked without much hardship, but in India, and still more in Southern India, where there is no more general demand for education than there is for beaver hats the rate school was little more nor less than a swindle, for it was paid for by those who had not asked for it and did not want it, and used by those who did want it and did not pay for it. It was supported by distant villagers who could not possibly have used it if they would, and lastly it was devoted mainly to the instruction of the sons of Brahman officials in the English language, while the mass of the people were excluded by social prejudice and repelled by a language which they had no wish to teach their children. And so it came about that this Act instead of spreading elementary education throughout Southern India, became every year more dying and inoperative. Even where the memorial had been written, the Act introduced, and the cess collected, the school remained unfounded, partly because there were no boys to fill it, and partly because the general apathy in matters educational resisted all efforts to dispel it.

Of the second class of schools, known as grant-in-aid schools, less need be said. They depended on local subscriptions more or less voluntary, according to the position of the subscriber, and the position and character of the official who made it his business, or found it his interest to set up the school. So far as public money was given to the support of such schools, it was thoroughly well spent, as it supplemented local and independent effort on the part of those who felt, or professed to feel, an interest in education, and

it saddled no back with other people's burdens. But as an instrument of popular education, these schools have been sadly defective. Official changes, by removing from the school its most influential and zealous patrons, would hasten its decay, while its semi-independent character deprived the masters of the position which attaches to Government employés, at the same time that it removed them from official control. These schools were thus often ephemeral, and always liable to alternations of efficiency and feebleness. Schools of the two classes first described do not technically, although they do in fact, correspond to the definition of elementary schools, that title being reserved for schools in which no English, however elementary, is taught. Of this third description of school we have now to speak, and if we do so with some detail, it is because the subject seems hitherto not to have attracted the notice to which both its importance and its interest entitle it.

In these days the schoolmaster is abroad all over India, the truth is being recognised with some distinctness that legislation can do little to raise an uneducated nation, that we shall make little of the ryot until we teach him to read and write. If we, English, could write the nation's songs, we might cease to care to write their laws, but we are strangers, and cannot write their songs, if we would, and as for laws, we seem to have written too many already. If the present generation of Indian administrators busy themselves with the humbler duties of the village schoolmaster, it may be that the fruit of their labour, when time shall have ripened it, will be richer and sounder than any grown by the husbandmen that came before.

The village school of Southern India, commonly bears the name of the "pial" or raised platform outside of a dwelling-house, chuttrum or temple, upon which the schoolmaster and his pupils sit to read and write. Few villages are without a school of this sort, but as their existence depends on a variety of accidents, it can never be predicated with certainty of a village that it has its village school, unless 'it is seen at work. These accidents arise partly out of the demand at any given time for education, and partly out of the fortuitous existence of a certain number of poor members of the Brahman or other semi-religious castes, who for want of lucrative employment find themselves driven to teach for their bread.

Hindús are so ruled by custom that it may be going too far to say that the schoolmasters' trade is not hereditary, but it is certainly looked upon as by no means an honorable occupation—a contempt which is due as much to the slight value set upon education, as to the poor return that rewards the teachers' toil. And here we must guard against a misconception that often meets the critic of the 'pial' school. With a not unnatural and

even praiseworthy attachment to the associations and memories of their youth, educated Hindus look back not without gratitude to the 'pial' school as their first "alma mater" who guided them through the crooked paths of alphabet and primer, and they fancy that any disparagement of the 'pial' school is necessarily an adverse criticism of the education which trained their young minds, and that in criticism of the methods, is involved condemnation of the results. But apart from the fact that boys can (if any one can) gather grapes of intelligence from the brambles of pedantry, it is not in fact true that the educated Hindú, even if he began his education in a 'pial' school, owes in any real sense his mature knowledge and intelligence to the crude teaching of the village schoolmaster. Hindus are taught all that is worth knowing of their education, except the 'beggary elements of reading and writing, in their own homes by their fathers and uncles and brothers. It is therefore not only possible, but just to condemn the methods of the village school without in any way extending that condemnation to the results as we see them in the educated Hindu of average intelligence and attainments. With this apology we may resume our description of the 'pial' school as it is, and as it has been probably any time these last 1500 years.

If we were to search for a type of this institution in English classical literature, we should probably find it most clearly delineated in "Great Expectations," where Dickens tells us that "Mr Wopsle's great aunt kept an evening school, that is to say, she was a ridiculous old woman of limited means and unlimited infirmity, who used to go to sleep in the company of youth who paid two pence per week each, for the improving opportunity of seeing her do it." Now if we generalise freely from this idea changing the sex of the teacher but preserving her characteristics and only raising slightly the price paid for the commodity supplied in the shape of instruction, we shall have a rough and ready model of the village or 'pial' school of Southern India. The schoolmaster, as we before hinted, is generally one of those bad bargains who failing in every respectable calling, sinks into pedagogy as a *dernier ressort*, and while he consents to teach the village youth by day, ekes out his livelihood with the precarious receipts derived from petition-writing and horoscope-drawing. As is the instructor so is the instruction—meagre in quantity, of poor quality, and conveyed by methods so crude and defective as to narrow instead of fertilising the intellect. It is of course impossible for boys, especially for boys so sharp as young Hindus, to sit together for months and years, repeating after the master by rote (for this is the invariable and unique method of teaching) their alphabet and simple arithmetic tables, without acquiring some knowledge of reading and writing, and the most elementary numeration.

But we do not hesitate to affirm that the teaching is so scanty, and the method in which it is conveyed so thoroughly bad, that any youths who pass from one of those schools to one in which competent instruction is given after sensible methods, have wholly to unlearn their early lessons before they can profit by sound teaching. We are not now speaking or thinking of English education, or of any thing but a sound and thorough instruction in the vernacular languages and literature, and it is notorious that Hindú scholars so far from owing their education to 'pial' schools, obtain that education in spite of the obstacles that ignorance and incompleteness of professional teachers cast in their path by independent study in their own homes, and from the experience of their own relations.

It would be a long and tedious story to tell all that might be told of the village school and schoolmaster, to describe the tumult and confusion amid which the teaching is carried on, and which, in the words of a native critic, "renders the 'pial' more like a busy bazaar than a school-house." We might dwell upon the extortion that, under the pretext of religious ceremony, forces clothes and gifts of grain, &c. from every scholar at almost every fresh stage of his studies, while the master at certain festivals turns his scholars into a company of young players, who travel round the village acting and reciting, winning by their performances a few extra rupees for the pedagogue's pocket.

These points are only important as they illustrate the falsity of the popular notion that this indigenous education is cheaper than the education offered by Government institutions. For in the first place, the fees paid for this miserable farce of education are very nearly, if not quite as high as those charged in Government schools for a really sound vernacular education. The lowest fee per month in the 'pial' school is two annas, and as the rates range according to the wealth of the parents combined with the supposed attainments of the pupil, from two annas to one rupee per month, it is probable that the average payment in hard cash is from 6 to 8 annas per month, or about 5 rupees a year. Add to this periodical gifts of grain and clothes, presents at feasts, and meals to the masters and fellow pupils, and the total annual cost of this worthless education will probably exceed that of a thoroughly sound education under competent teachers.

Having stated this much (and though we have stated the facts strongly, we believe that we have given nothing but facts), there would seem to be little left for discussion. If the ordinary education offered to the mass of the rural population is thus worthless, surely, it will be said, Government have only to meet the want by a full supply of competent village schools, and scholars will flock to them forthwith. But it is just because the future of popular education is not so plain and easy, that we wish to point

out where the difficulties lie, and to see whether the recent legislation promises to face and overcome them. And first comes the great difficulty that the ground is not clear for a new building. Such as they are, these 'pial' schools are in possession, and are from that mere fact an obstacle in the path of educational reform. It is an ungracious task to be for ever harping on the conservatism or the prejudice of the mass of Hindús, but it is a stern fact which presents itself, and must be faced at the outset of every undertaking in India. And in this matter of popular education, although the educated Hindú knows and feels and acknowledges the utter worthlessness of the 'pial' school, the mass of the people see no such thing. If they think of it at all, it appears to them a very excellent and time honoured institution, eminently calculated to keep the sons of Brahmans and traders out of mischief, and to supply them with that small modicum of education which has satisfied ordinary folk hitherto. To the lower class of cultivators and labourers it is a mere abstraction, with which they and their sons have no more concern than with the village accounts which are written for the *Sirkar*.

Here is the rub. We wish to instruct these good people. We want to see every ryot able to read and write, but they—*fortunati nimirum*—will not come to learn, and so throwing up our hands, we say "What are we to do?" while some strong-minded people more ready to cut than to disentangle the knot, prepare the panacea—Compulsory Education.

Now, although we cannot think it wise thus to force education on a nation, there is one line of argument which is used to oppose this policy, which seems quite delusive, and that is the argument drawn from the present backward condition of India. The country is not ready, it is said for compulsory education, wait twenty, fifty, or any other arbitrarily fixed number of years, and then we shall be able to insist on every boy and girl coming to school and learning to read and write. This assertion, for it is a mere assertion, appears utterly without foundation and arises more from the wish on the part of the opponents of compulsory education to stave off the policy of which they disapprove, than from any real faith in the wisdom of their own prophecy. For it is sufficiently obvious that every day of delay increases the difficulties of introducing compulsory education, since every day slowly but surely will increase the self-reliance and independence of the mass of Hindús. Signs are not wanting of a very wholesome quickening of the people's life—an awakening brought about by the more strenuous habits of thought and action forced upon India by railways, and telegraphs, and roads. And upon a nation that has learned to think and act for itself, it will be impossible to impose the burden of compulsory education, while it might even

now be feasible to do so in the more unsophisticated parts of the country. Not that we look upon compulsory methods with any favour, or think them indispensable or even expedient. Education is a tree of slowest growth, but it thrives best when left to fight its battle with nature under the free sky, and only sickens in the artificial atmosphere of the forcing house. If also it be true that India is slowly awaking from her long sleep, and is learning to feel and know her wants, popular education will be one of her first demands, and the time will have gone by when authority need be called in to support the schoolmaster. If those who clamour and groan at the ignorance of the ryot, were to read with more philosophy and patience the lessons taught us by the history of education in England and elsewhere in Europe, they would cease to wonder at the backwardness of education in this country. If it has remained to the Parliament of 1870, (of 33 and 34 Vict. Cap. 75, an Act to provide elementary education in England and Wales) to secure elementary education to the lower classes in England, India may well be pardoned for lagging some few years behind a country which has gained a start in civilisation of at least five centuries.

And if this principle be recognised and acted upon we shall be less liable to despair at the apathy of Indian parents, less anxious to force education upon unwilling recipients, and thus less liable to present failure, and more certain of future success.

Still the facts remain which we noticed above, first, that the existing means and methods of education are lamentably inadequate and inefficient, secondly, that the mass of the people care little or nothing for their increase or improvement. How then is this stagnation to be stirred, and how is the gulf to be bridged? The system proposed by the Madras Government, and sanctioned by the Act of this year, meets these questions in the following manner. The Local Funds Act constitutes a district, or such subdivision of a district as is considered to require separate administration, a Circle, and provides that the funds raised within that area shall be spent, on the several purposes designated, within that area only. Thus each Circle has its own Road Fund, its own Union Fund, and its own Endowment Fund. The term Road Fund explains itself, the Endowment Fund is almost equally intelligible, and is derived from the endowments of charitable institutions, such as hospitals, dispensaries, and the like.

Union Funds are those from which Educational expenditure is met, unless provided for from Imperial, or as they are called since the decentralising order, Provincial Funds. The name "Union" denotes the area of the village or villages which are provided for in our central school, or as the rules promulgated by Government (Rule IX) explain it, "villages, groups of villages

"or townships in which from time to time the Government may "under the provisions of Section 36 direct the imposition of the "House-tax for the support of a Local Fund school or schools "situated therein, shall be denominated Unions" Similarly the schedule of Forster's Education Act defines a 'school district' to be a 'borough or parish,' and provides that each of such school-districts shall be provided with sufficient schools for all the children resident within such district—(Sec 5, 33 and 34 Vict. Cap 75) Again in the instructions directly communicated to the Local Funds Boards, the Madras Government has ordered that these school-unions shall be arranged on the principle that $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles are the utmost distance that admits of the daily attendance of children. Thus the country is divided among these small circles, having a diameter of five miles, and the school as the centre of the circle. Of course these areas will not be arranged with mathematical precision, since it is impossible to cover a given area by a number of contiguous circles, without leaving a considerable area non-included, and physical conditions will tend constantly and rigorously in this country to render the circles more or less irregular, in order to place the schools within easy access of the local population. It seems to us to be very doubtful whether the extreme distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles is not too great for such stay-at-home people as Hindu rustics, but this will be a matter for subsequent treatment after the system has been some time at work. Each circle then is theoretically provided with a central school, and the expenses of this village school are to be defrayed from the Union Funds, which (cf Rule X) consist of "the proceeds of the House-tax levied under Sec 36 of the Act, "together with school fees, donations, contributions and other money "accruing to the schools, or for Union purposes." For the purposes of the levying of House-tax, Schedule A provides for the classification of houses under six classes paying different rates from a maximum of Rs 5 to a minimum of 4 annas. Such is the machinery entrusted to the Local Funds Boards, which they have to set in motion if they would support existing, or found additional schools. Into the constitution of these Boards, we need not enter, suffice it to say that they consist of equal numbers of official and non-official residents of the Circle. This new system of spreading popular education has for its objects to systematize education by securing to every locality its own school, supported by local rates, and to improve education by providing for the proper inspection of schools by competent inspecting officers, whose influence will tend to introduce into all lower schools, an uniform and superior type of elementary instruction.

Nor is the supply of teachers in these schools left, as hitherto, to blind chance, for no Circle will be considered educationally

complete without a Training School, from which qualified schoolmasters will be scattered over the country in the union schools.

But although the Act provides for most of the primary requirements of a system of elementary education, it does not, nor indeed was it required to meet all the questions that will inevitably occur as the working of the system spreads. Important questions will present themselves for disposal, and will depend for a wise solution upon the care and intelligence of the Local Boards—questions, that is, such as the payment of school-fees by the scholars, and whether the master is, as he now depends, to depend on this source of income for his livelihood, or whether he is to receive a fixed salary, or again, whether the payment-by-results system is to be adopted, the master receiving payments proportionate to the number of pupils whom he educates up to a prescribed standard—a system which we venture to think better applicable to schools for higher education, than to village schools, whose *curriculum* is bounded by the three 'Rs'.

Again the question will present itself for speedy decision, whether the existing staff of village schoolmasters, (whom we may classify as the Wopsle-type), are to be left in possession and entrusted with the custody of elementary education, whether, that is, their schools are to be accepted as the basis of the union schools, and gradually developed by inspection and criticism into efficient village schools, or whether they are to be left out in the cold, while an opposition school is started under a competent teacher. There can, we conceive, be no question that the conciliatory will be more successful than the high-handed method of dealing with this problem. Statesmanship is a succession of compromises, because men, and especially ignorant and prejudiced men, are more easily led than driven, and so in this matter of education, if the inferior schoolmasters are disgusted by summary changes, instead of being conciliated by fair promises and positive gains, they will be driven into active opposition, where they will carry against the new schools all the blind prejudice, which religious bigotry and hatred of change wield with such power in India. If, however, existing schools and their masters be taken as they are with all their faults and failings, and by systematic management and inspection drilled into something better, while by more sure and steady salary payments, their self-interest is awakened and the post of village schoolmaster is rendered at once more lucrative and respectable, it will be possible by slow but sure degrees to turn the present 'pial school' into a fairly efficient union school, without injury to individuals, and in furtherance of the general good.

And if the intentions of the Madras Government be gathered from the text of the Act and the instructions issued by them, it is plain not only that they do not advocate any violent action in

the introduction of educational reform, but that they took special pains to secure deliberation in the establishment of new schools, that the action of Local Fund Boards might neither outrun necessity, nor press hardly on rural communities. This intention is evident in the proviso attached to Sec 36, which runs—"provided that the tax on houses shall not be imposed, "except in villages in which a school already exists that is in "receipt of a grant-in-aid from Government, or in villages the "inhabitants of which desire to establish a school, or in villages "in which Government determines to establish a school."

The imposition of the House-tax is thus restricted to villages, in which schools already exist and are aided by Government, the number of which in the year 1869-70, was only 1,065 for the whole Presidency, or to those exceptional cases in which the villagers express a desire for a Government school—cases which will, we believe, be so rare that they may be left out of the account altogether, or lastly to cases in which Government directly interferes to establish a school. How this *deus ex machina* of Government is to be brought upon the scene, we scarcely comprehend, and if the words are taken in their ordinary sense that a distinct order of Government will be indispensable to the establishment of each and every village school, the proviso cannot but be a most injurious restriction of the action of the Local Fund Boards who are ultimately responsible under the Act for the progress of education. Such, however, may not be the real intention of the Legislature, and if these words which require the intervention of Government, be somewhat freely interpreted they may be taken to mean that the Local Fund Boards are authorised to prepare a scheme of elementary education for their several divisions, by which union schools will be provided for every union with its $2\frac{1}{2}$ mile radius, and that this complete scheme must be submitted for approval and sanction by Government, before the House-tax can be levied for the support of the schools. If this be the intention of Government, and it would appear from their 'instructions' that they contemplate some such method of setting the elementary education scheme afloat, it would have been far better to avoid imposing the restrictions contained in the proviso quoted above, which seem to confine the action of Local Fund Boards within very narrow limits, if not to fetter them wholly. There is, we are aware, a prevalent opinion that the Local Fund Boards are little better than a farce, that it is idle to expect independence of action or public spirit on the part of non-official members of the Boards, that all efficient action will depend on the *ipse dixit* of the President. Whether this will be so or not, it is foreign to our subject to discuss, in the matter of education we are free to confess that we hope progress will not

depend on the modest aspirations of native members. If we wait till every village asks for a good school, we shall wait so long that the passing of Act IV of 1871 will be rendered futile, but it will be comparatively easy—by multiplying the staff of the Educational Department, and by employing inspecting officers of a low grade to visit villages and, if we may so speak, to *tout* for schools—to spread elementary education slowly but surely through the country. What is *not* wanted is a force of Madras B.A.'s, fresh from college triumphs and full of crude opinions about the advantages of education with a firm persuasion of their own value as illustrations of those advantages. Such agents will not only repel and disgust where we must conciliate and attract, but they will think themselves above their inspecting work, and do it slovenly and ill. The rural population would feel that if these are specimens of the results of Government education, their own sons can gain nothing and will lose much in fitness for their station by education of this sort, and the first care of those who endeavour to spread elementary education must be to convince the country people that the education offered to them is purely elementary, and so far from unfitting them for the ordinary business of life, will prove a real and solid gain to every youth who reads in the school. But it is unnecessary to consider further the details of the scheme. Only let the fact be realised that this Act is rather a skeleton than a perfect body, a rough-hewn block and not a finished statue, and that its elaboration will be successfully carried on so far only as the Local Fund Boards work with zeal and discretion. We cannot but think that elementary education has from one cause and another been too much lost sight of hitherto. From the highest to the lowest grades educational officers have been wholly bent on spreading English education in the Madras Presidency, and it is not uncommon for an Inspector of schools to be quite unpractised in visiting and examining schools in which only vernacular languages are taught. Another obstacle to the spread of education in the mofussil has been the entire absence of any co-operation by revenue district officers with the Educational Department. This has now been changed by a recent order of the Madras Government, recognising Collectors as generally responsible for the state of education within their districts, and empowering those officers to take measures to supply deficiencies in education. And although a Collector, if he honestly does his work, is probably the hardest-worked official under the sun, and it may therefore seem cruel to make him responsible for education too, the real work added to his present labour by this order will be infinitesimal. Ten minutes spent in a village school here and there about his district, or one hour spent in distributing prizes to the zillah school, will suffice to show his interest in the poi-

gress of education, and will contribute not a little to that progress. And so we will take leave of this subject, with a sincere hope and belief that Act IV of 1871 will not fail to produce valuable results.

Not in months nor in years will the fruit of this good work appear. A generation must grow up to manhood, strengthened for the struggle of life by good teaching, before any general increase of popular education can make itself felt, and even then the leaven of intelligence will be working but slowly through the lump of ignorance and prejudice. Those who have wisely effected the change will not be able to watch its influence, but none the less gratitude is due to them for attempting at least to lift the cloud that has too long darkened Southern India.

ART V—BENOUDHA

- 1—*A Historical sketch of Fyzabad Tehsil, including the former Capitals of Ajudhya and Fyzabad* By P Carnegy, Officiating Commissioner and Settlement Officer, 1870
- 2—*Notes on the Races, Tribes and Castes, inhabiting the Province of Oudh* By P Carnegy Deputy Commissioner and Settlement Officer of Fyzabad, 1868
- 3—*Fyzabad Settlement Reports—Historical* By P Carnegy Settlement Officer

EMULOUS it would almost seem of keeping pace with the brilliant results astronomers have of late years achieved in the solution of many hitherto dimly-comprehended mysteries of solar physics, historians, antiquarians and annalists—‘other systems circling other suns’—have, during the same interval devoted no small amount of energy and patience to the study of the solar kingdom of history and fable. As the former have, to some extent, succeeded in resolving into the photosphere and other constituent portions of its splendour what was formerly but ‘one unclouded blaze of living light’ and in defining where the actual luciferous orb fades into unsubstantial zones which, though enhancing its effulgence, shine only with borrowed and reflected lustre so have the latter made great progress towards the determination of the limits, where the real events of history become merged in the misty and illusive fables by which they are surrounded and embellished, and as the scientific observations of the former have been materially assisted by the transit of the eclipsing moon across the sun’s disc so have the researches of the latter received no inconsiderable aid from the passage of certain planetary luminaries of the Celestial Empire* across the Solar kingdom during the dark ages of its history.

It is probably almost superfluous to explain that on the historic side of the above parallel, we allude to Ayodhyá, or Oudh, in claiming so much importance for which province we must not be understood to assert that it has altogether monopolised the attention of historical enquirers. The general historian indeed, cannot but regard it as a fraction only of the unit he adopts, but from him, too, it demands that tribute of respect which is due, if not to its present worth, at least to its departed greatness,

* The pilgrimage of this Chinese priest (Hwen Thsang) forms an epoch of as much interest for the Ancient History and Geography of

India, as the expedition of Alexander the Great. *Gen Cunningham’s Anc. Geog., preface, p vii*

while it constitutes the sole theme of another class of writers, who may be identified with that section of historical literature, which owes its origin to the increased knowledge of the province which has resulted from its annexation, the first fruits of which appeared in Mr Elliott's valuable work, the *Chronicles of Unao* (Oonao), while with seemingly ever-increasing fecundity, it has continued to yield abundant harvests up to the present time, the last of them being represented by an interesting sketch of the history of the 'Ancient Capitals' of Oudh.

To review collectively the whole of the literature which falls within the second category, would be a task worthy of a literary Titan, we confine ourselves more humbly to a single branch of it, in the selection of which we are guided by no more than one consideration, for the historical sketch which has been the present means of bringing the subject under our notice, is but one of several similar works from the same pen the author of which has by his position (local and official) had access to sources of information, which remain sealed to those less fortunately circumstanced, and the whole series refers almost exclusively to a portion of the province, which unaffected by the numerous 'rectifications' of frontier which have from time to time taken place, has throughout all history formed part of Oudh, and which from having been the sub-division of which Ayodhya was more especially the capital, Sravasti having whilom shored that honour in the northern districts, may be adjudged to possess in a peculiar degree, the right to be associated with Rama's celebrated city.

The tract thus particularised has, it may be surmised, a name sufficiently appropriate, we mean Benoudha. If it is vague, it is to us a recommendation, it leaves room for greater latitude of treatment. If in modern times, its meaning has been narrowed by treaties involving territorial cessions we avail ourselves with satisfaction of a reason for not transgressing the present boundaries of Oudh. What according to our notion, the name in its full sense implied, we shall state hereafter; but an exact definition of its meaning is beyond our present purpose. It fulfils its object if it indicates with moderate clearness, that our concern lies with a particular region, not with the whole of Oudh, with the past, rather than the present, with the Hindu rather than the Muslim.

The merits and demerits of the works before us from a purely literary point of view, we do not intend to discuss at any length, indeed, criticism in this direction is disarmed by the frank avowal of the author, in his prefatory remarks, that he has not attempted to present us with elaborate and highly-finished literary compositions, and that we must only look for such more or less complete descriptions of particulars of historical or ethnological value, as he has become acquainted with in the course of, and in some

measure in connection with, his official labours, and found leisure to commit to writing in that very scanty *otium* that goes hand in hand with the *dignitate* of official life in India, his object being, not so much to claim for them, in their present shape, a permanent place in literature, as to place on record the results of his researches, in order that they may be available to any aspirant after fame, who, undaunted by the formidable literary training he is cautioned he must undergo, shall feel him equal to the undertaking of compiling a perfect and comprehensive history of Ayodhyá, the blessed. Hence, we presume springs that want of perspicuity of arrangement and that blending of the general with the particular which occasionally force themselves upon our notice, and to which we might otherwise object. In them we find the leading defects, perhaps, to which we need advert, and we may point out instances as we encounter them in the course of our remarks. But these and any other minor faults we willingly condone, when, to counterbalance them, we obtain so much varied and valuable information. Nor must we omit to notice an unusual, we believe a perfectly novel, feature in such publications, which is to be observed in the Faizabad Report, which leads us to recur to the simile with which we started, for, as astronomers have pressed photography among other auxiliaries into their service, so also do we find that the same process has been resorted to for the illustration of the glories of the solar capital. The experiment has been made on no unworthy objects, and Ayodhyá's magnificence is proved to be a thing not altogether of the past, mosque and pagoda alike contribute to its decoration, and it still possesses architectural monuments which few Indian cities can surpass. Less stately in appearance, but more historically interesting, the Maniparbat and other structures of a like kind have appropriately found places among the illustrations. The subjects have all, indeed, been judiciously selected, and the artist—an amateur it seems—has well performed his portion of the task.

With these preliminary remarks, we pass on to the more congenial labour of tracing the history of Benoudha, by the light that the works under review shed upon it, in doing which, we may as well mention at the outset, that when, as will now and then occur, we find it further capable of elucidation by reference to other authors, we shall not scruple to consult them as freely as may suit our purpose. General Sleeman's "Tour," and Dr Butler's "Southern Oudh" at once suggest themselves as likely to assist us, while we may possibly show ourselves not oblivious of more recently published accounts of the southern districts of the province.

To what particular race or tribe are we to attribute the earliest occupation of Benoudha? What were its ethnological affinities? In what relation did it stand to those who reduced it to subjection?

Did it succumb to an alien race nobler and worthier than itself, or did it differ from its successor only as one sept of a mighty clan differs from another? Was the indigenous plant uprooted to make way for the exotic? Or were they offshoots of the same parent-stem, the one degenerated under unsuitable conditions the other developed in a corresponding degree under the influence of a superior climate and more careful nurture. Neither of these theories regarding the aborigines, and those who 'improved them off the face of the earth,' has been without its advocates. That which postulates a community of origin for the immigrants, and the autochthones is not unknown, Mr Carnegie tells us, to the traditions of the natives, with whom it finds expression in a curious story. Beni, or Venu, son of Ang, ruler of Ayodhya, one of many unfortunates of the same kind, fell a victim to the anger of the Bráhmans. He died childless, but his corpse, after the fashion of the ashes of the Phoenix, gave birth to two sons, destined to become leading characters in the cosmogonic portion of Hindú mythology. For one, Nekhad, sprung from his foot, is reputed to have been the ancestor of the aborigines, the other Pirthu, sprung from his arm, attained no less a dignity than that of the first Solar Raja of Ayodhya. This strange origin of the Solar race reminds us forcibly of one of Hamlet's queerest ravings, in which he builds conclusions on the creative power of the sun under similar conditions—a god kissing carrion, making mention of another sun-born family of a perfectly different description. We imagine, few will envy those who can boast of an ancestry reaching back through countless generations to the sun when it is coupled with such a blot on the escutcheon on the maternal side. We are inclined, much to our surprise, to feel grateful to Mr Darwin's school, for giving mankind in general the option of claiming descent from the more obscure but less repulsive mollusc. We are glad to know, however, that accounts are not unanimous in making Venu's sons posthumous * (which is after all a secondary point), the same leading idea pervades them all, and accords with that of the legend, in showing that the Aryans of the East did not lack authority for sharing with their brethren of the West, and with the Semitic races from whom the latter derived it, a belief in the descent of all mankind from 'one primitive great sire.'

Abstaining from a discussion of this theory, Mr Carnegie proceeds to describe the various races into which, according to native ways of thinking, the human species was in the earliest times

* Venu himself, however, was the son of Smritha, the first born of *Mri* *Skt* texts, I 299 *tyu* (Death), and this taint is said to have led to his being born corrupt.

divided, experiencing probably, in common with the generality of writers, the impossibility of investigating the history of the aborigines of any one province, without glancing at the distribution of their contemporaries, over other portions of the country. These primitive races are said to have been fourteen in number, which were classified as follows —

Prach (East) ——— Pundarik, Khat, Khas, Kamboh, Udar
 Dachhat (South) ——— Dair, Hahar
 Audichh (North) ——— Chinias
 Pischhat (West) ——— Sak, Pahlav, Párad, Darid, Tal-
 jaugha, Barbar

The first eight of these were indigenous and the remainder foreigners. As this arrangement professes to be based partly on the Sástras, it may be expected that it coincides pretty closely with what we find in Manu, which premising that localities are completely undefined, we transcribe *in extenso** —

Paundrakas, Odras, Diáviras, Kambojas,† Yvanas, Sakas, Paradas, Pahlavas Chinast‡ Khátas, Daradas, and Chasas

Our principal object in giving this list is, to show that the Hahars, the only ones who appear to have belonged to Benoudha, are not in Manu's list. The identifications which have been made of many of the others have our general concurrence, and with regard to the remainder, we may offer the following remarks — The Mahábhārata reckons Paundria among the kingdoms of the East, and the Pundariks (whom we take to be the Paundrakas of Manu) may therefore both from locality and name be assigned to that kingdom which, if the same as Paundria Vuddhan, is the modern Pabur. The Dairids § to judge not only from their name, but also from their proximity in various lists to the Kashmias, cannot be other than those who are said to have been 'once a powerful race, and to have given their name to Darid, erst the capital of Swat or Udyána'. And the Parads may in all likelihood be traced by verbal similarity to Pardene of the ancient atlases, a conjecture which is supported by the proximity of Pardene to the country of the Pahlavas, with whom the Parads seem to be associated. Regarding the incidental observation that from Prach is derived the Prashu of the Greeks we note that General Cunningham, who recognises

* Institutes, ch x, p 44

† Kamboh, of Kamboj or Cochun ("Notes on Races" p 1). Elsewhere (Ancient Geography p 6) they are classed among nations of the south west, and (Lassen on Coins p 89) among the nations of the west. Those of the east were a colony from the west (Calcutta Review, No cii, p

306) and one only of many instances of the same kind.

‡ 'A name that Sinologues say "is not older than two centuries before Christ" — Prinsep l 223

§ Ancient Geography p 82 see also Baber's Memoirs (Fiskine) Introduction, xiii, and P. Hian (Peale) Introduction, p lxix

this as the hitherto universally accepted belief,* prefers to attribute the origin of the Greek word to Palāsa, or Parāsa,† which he says was a well-known name, in ancient times, of Magadha, well-known, also, it may be added, in modern times,‡ in connection with Clive's famous victory

But are the pandits correct in asserting any of these fourteen races to be aboriginal? In *Manu*, in the *Mahābhārata*, and elsewhere, the Kshatriya origin of some at least, where not of all, is clearly indicated, which suggests an answer in the negative, to be avoided only by the hypothesis that the Kshatriyas themselves were autochthonic. We might indeed argue, and not without fair grounds, that the term Kshatriya is misapplied, on account of the strong improbability there is that some of the clans named were ever subject to the laws of the Brahmanic hierarchy, but, if such be the case, it is also capable of explanation on the supposition that they were foreigners, and we can thence deduce no certain argument as to whether they were aborigines or not. Again, the Yavanas and Pahlavas were unquestionably Aryans, and either strangers to the caste-system and so foreigners 'or errant Kshatriyas who had lost their caste,' which brings us round again to the point from which we started, inasmuch as, if they were indigenous, so must the Kshatriyas generally have been

Fortifying ourselves, therefore, with the authority of Wilson for doubting whether the Institutes were 'put together' before the 2nd century B.C., and taking into account the rapid spread of the doctrines of Sakya Muni over the south and west of India, we incline to the view that we have in *Manu* nothing but an enumeration of the most warlike or best known races of his day, who were, indeed, excommunicated so far as Hindú society was concerned, but whose "omission of holy rites and seeing no Brahmins" was simply an euphemistic form of expressing their adhesion to Buddhism, or other rival creeds, and the mention of whom as Kshatriyas is but an intimation of the rank in the Hindu social scale to which they would have been welcome,—if only they had cared to take it, just as in later times, Hodgson says the Kochh availed themselves of the convenient elasticity of the Kshatriya's cord, which was unhesitatingly extended to receive them

Who then were the aborigines of Benoudha? For our part, we readily confess our ignorance. It depends upon the broader question of who were the aborigines of the whole of Hindústan, on which, even among those who agree they were non-Aryan, opi-

* See Fa Hian, p 103, note Prasin
= Vrijjis?

† Ancient Geography, p 454

‡ Drury *Useful plants*, s v
Butea frondosa.

nions are at present hopelessly at variance. Even those who were till lately left undisturbed in that not much coveted position, have again to face the invader. The Kols and others have each their own antagonist, Mr. Carnegie fearlessly challenges the title of the Bhars! We bid fair ultimately to prepare a *tabula rasa*, which may hereafter receive speculations less open to attack than those which have preceded them. In the present transition state of knowledge on the subject, the most prudent course is to restrict ourselves to saying that the earliest records of the Aryans lead us to believe that those whom they found here were squat, dark-complexioned races, morally and physically inferior to their Aryan conquerors, who scorned to make themselves acquainted with, or at all events to allude to, them by their distinctive designations or to take cognizance of their tribal individuality, finding it sufficient, for the limited intercourse they kept up with them to group them under such collective terms as Asuras, Daityas, or Rákshasas. These names may, as usually believed, have been borrowed from the visionary world, or may, as Wheeler suggests, have been perhaps originally applied to particular tribes of aborigines. They may, indeed, have been the appellations by which they were familiarly known among themselves and have gradually fallen into their present degraded signification as the breach between them and the invaders widened, and have become on the lips of the Aryans synonymous with those of evil spirits, only when in their minds they imagined an assimilation of nature to have already taken place, being in either case, expressive of contempt, hatred or abuse, and exemplifications of a method of exhibiting such feelings by no means confined to ancient days or eastern countries. The modern orthography of the word Tartar is due to such a mental parallel by St. Louis on his hearing of the devastations of the hordes of Chinghiz Khan,* and a similar idea would almost seem to underlie the qualified praise bestowed by Gregory the Great on the fair-haired Saxon slaves. Butler again, jokingly it is true, directly attributes to the great Florentine statesman an addition to the already numerous cognomina of the arch-enemy

Old Machiavel had ne'er a trick
Yet gave his name to our Old Nick,

and a more serious example of the same sort is to be found in the well-known passage "How art thou fallen from heaven, Lucifer, son of the Morning!"—the name employed in which, indicative in the first instance of the king of Babylon, was transferred to its

* *Erigat nos mater, cœleste solatium, quia si proveniant ipsi, vel nos ipsos quos vocamus Tartaros ad*

suas Tartareas sedes unde exierunt retrudemus, vel ipsi nos cælum advehant—*Gibbon*, vol. iii, p. 295

present owner, only when the empire of the former, becoming an object of universal hatred, had come to be considered as fitly typical of the empire of the latter *

To complete the ethnic system of the pandits, of which the fourteen primitive races formed the greater part, a fifteenth—a 'last best work of heaven'—was necessary to crown, as it were, the edifice of creation. To fulfil this lofty object it was that the Aryans, the good and great, *καλοὶ καγαθοί*, were called into existence. Whether they are to be identified with the children of the soil of Brahṁavartta, or whether they were the prototypes of the many invaders of that sacred territory, whether their cradle lay on the banks of the Saraswatī or whether, one of many branches of a race which penetrated to the furthest confines of the ancient world they crossed the Himalayas before they reached the holy stream, are questions raised in the books before us, but left (we think rightly) undiscussed. The enquiry which originates in them

* Is Patal but another exemplification of the same process of thought? Did it derive its name from the famous Pátali-putra? The verbal resemblance, it may be objected at the outset, is imperfect, but General Cunningham reduces the latter word to an original form of Patali, and the remaining difficulty of the one word having a dental, and the other a cerebral, is any thing but insuperable, for many words are spelt with either indiscriminately. And the analogy does not end here. Patal is not mentioned among the numerous regions of the Pandemonium described by Manu, and "in India alone, perhaps only in Northern India, the notion of an infernal serpent kingdom had taken root, and there alone the new religions adopted it," which would indicate that any name applied to it must

* *Calcutta Review*,
October 1870 p 332

be of Indian origin and bestowed on it at a more recent date than the idea assumed shape. It is at least unlikely that the idea of Patal, in accordance with the present notions of the Hindús, should have first found birth in their minds, and that a city should subsequently be discovered on earth to reproduce exactly the phenomena said to exist in a visionary world. The serpentine denizens of the one tally closely with

the Seshnaga dynasty founders and monarchs of the other, the language of the one, Nagbhasha, is a Prakrit and a well known Prakrit dialect owes its name of Páli apparently to an abbreviated form of the latter seen in Palibothra, and an alternative name of Makata Pasa, or Magadha Bhásha to the kingdom of which Palibothra is the capital. The subterranean locality of the one may not improbably be ascribed to the semitroglydic habits said to be generally prevalent in Scythian countries,* which the in-

* Latham I 354 invaders may have attempted to keep up until they discovered the unsuitability of the style of architecture to the tropics, the inaccessibility of the one to the light of day, and its illumination by the lustre of its own unnumberable genus—

Let one admire
That riches grow in hell, that
soil may best
Deserve the precious bane—

may be traceable, in the first place to its alleged position, and in the next to the splendour of Chandra-gupta's capital, and the lake which contained the water of life would, in a Brahman's mind, be no unfit metaphor for a spot near the confluence of the Ganges and many of its principal tributary streams.

loses itself in ethnic problems of world-wide concern, and when we have traced the "great Asiatic branch to two foci not far apart and situated east and west of the Indus,"* we may be confident that, by starting from the former, and following the historic lines, which radiate from it eastward, we shall omit nothing of Benoudha's special history

"That country," says Manu "which lies between Himavat and Vindhya, to the east of Vinasana, and to the west of Prayág, is celebrated by the title of Madhyadesa, or the Central Region" Whence it follows, that it was not until their third great onward movement, after they had already colonized Brahmvartta and Brahmarshi, that the Aryans reached Benoudha† And in what character did they make their first appearance? Were, Mr Carnegie asks, proselytizing Brahmans urged by zeal for the propagation of the Vaidik faith the first wave of a flood-tide of immigration, followed closely by a second composed of those who were actuated by still peaceful but less noble motives,—the *auri sacra fames*? This view is not without support In the tradition on which it is based (which has, however, been garbled by the pandits) it is said, as pointed out, that it was in compliance with the solicitations of oppressed Brahmins that the Solar race first approached Ayodhya, and, in the Mahabharata, we find that it was with Brahmans (and no other caste is mentioned as being with them) that the Pandavas sojourned during their visits to Varanavata and Ekachakrá‡, in the latter of which places at least, an Asura not a Kshatriya king was reigning, and Wheeler confidently broaches the theory, that, at that period, there were no Aryan principalities so far east even as the former

But whatever was the order of their coming, whether there came at once a colony or army, numbering in its ranks all the social elements which composed the community of which it was an offshoot, or whether, as just suggested, the main body was preceded by the analogue of the Jesuit or settler, here, in Benoudha, in common with other portions of the Middle-Land, it was that, in after days, the Brahmanic system was to reach its full development — and it seems impossible to believe otherwise than that this end was, in no slight measure, furthered by the efforts of an hierarchy at Ayodhya "In the Middle-Land," says Dr Hunter "the simple faith of the sages was first adorned "with stately rites, and then extinguished beneath them It beheld the race progress from a loose confederacy of patriarchal communities into several well-knit nations, each secured by a "strong central force, but disfigured by distinctions of caste destined

* Notes on Races, p 5

but this can scarcely be accurate.

† Euphrastone places Oudh not in the Middle-Land, but in Brahmarshi,

‡ Allahabad and Arrah

"in the end to be the ruin of the Sanskrit people. The compilers of the land-law recorded in the Book of Manu, if not actual residents of the Middle-Land, were so closely identified with it as to look upon it as the focus of their race," and, says the same author, "the civilisation which is popularly supposed to have been the civilisation of ancient India, which is represented by the Bráhmans and the Book of Manu, was in its integrity confined to the northern country termed by Manu the Middle-Land."

But did this civilisation effect so radical a change in the character of this portion of the Aryan race as Dr Hunter proceeds to delineate? Did the discussion of metaphysical puzzles usurp the attention of all classes of the Aryan community? If in the Madhyadesa peaceful pursuits alone obtained, and necessity no longer existed for exertion, should not the same state of things be expected *a fortiori* in the regions previously colonised? And yet in Brahmarshi, say the Institutes, are to be found the most suitable recruits for the vanguard of the army, and in the Middle-Land, as we have just seen, there was a wider gulf than elsewhere between the Brahman and the Kshatriya. That from the comparative repose which ensued on the subjection of the Middle-Land, philosophy and literature received a mighty impetus we entertain no doubt, the same result has followed the same cause so frequently in history, as to have become almost a law of social progress. But we would confine to one—the priestly—caste, separated widely by its own legislation from the rest, what is predicated of the entire society, and conjecture that while the scholar's tongue was ready to discourse, with an eloquence proportioned to the abstruseness of his thesis, the soldier's sword was not allowed to hang rusting in its sheath. Following the boundaries assigned by Manu to the Middle-Land, and bearing in mind the vigorous growth to which Brahmanism there attained, we argue that almost coincident with the present eastern boundary of that portion of Benoudha, which still retains the name of Oudh, with Prayag and Ayodhya as border cities, there long existed an ethnic frontier as sharply defined as that which Dr Hunter so graphically describes as having subsequently formed the utmost limit of Aryan encroachment in Bengal. In one respect indeed, and that one of the greatest moment, there lay a greater difference between the two contiguous but antagonistic races in the former case than in the latter, for, in proportion, we may assume, to the degree of development of Brahmanism was the bitterness of hatred bestowed on its opponents, and, so far as the formation of national character is to be sought in historical events, to the 'fierce shock of jarring contrasts,' which the Aryans of Benoudha of the eastern border of the Middle Land then had to sustain, may, we

conceive, be in part attributed that warlike disposition by which their descendants still continue to be characterised

To what epoch is to be assigned the advent of the Aryan race into Benoudha? It was there is every reason to suppose, though there is no absolute proof, identical with that of the building of the city of Ayodhyá, and with that also of the foundation of the so-called Solar dynasty, so that whatever data we have for the determination of the one will be serviceable with respect to the others also. For the honour of founding the illustrious line above alluded to, there are two candidates in the field—Pirthu, of mysterious birth, and Ikshvaku, son of the Sun himself. Pirthu's claims, however, rest entirely on the testimony of the pandits, who, confounding his being the first of men who was installed as a king* with his having been the first King of Ayodhyá are guilty simultaneously of a chronological, a geographical, and a genealogical blunder. Pirthu and his two immediate predecessors, Vena-Adharmmarajá (the Raja Ben of north west traditions?) and his father Anga find places in the dynastic list† of Brahmavartta, they belonged to a mythical age long anterior to Manu Vaivaswata (the sun‡), and consequently the Solar race, descendants of the latter, must have in their time been among generations yet unborn. The wish has evidently been father to the thought, and, in the attempt to connect Pirthu with Ayodhya, the pandits have been actuated by a desire to appropriate to their own city a monarch who, in their estimation, was a model of consummate piety. To him says Mr Carnegy, is given the credit—or discredit—of introducing the caste system, and to “prevent the “confusion of caste” § is certainly among the rules of religious conduct he meekly received from the Bráhmans, and as meekly pledged himself to carry out. It was by ‘his submissiveness’ that he attained kingly power,|| and he also gained some distinction by his hymnic compositions—being, we may remark *en passant*, at the same time first of kings, and first also of royal authors. He was, indeed, according to the point of view from which his character is regarded, either the quintessence of righteousness, or the most priest-ridden wretch that ever occupied a throne. But his throne was not that of Ayodhya.

Ikshváku ¶ it is who, as stated in the Faizabad Report, is said to have been the first prince of the Solar race** and is first mentioned as King of Ayodhyá, though not, perhaps, of such transcendent holiness as Ikshvaku, he was deemed worthy of becoming, in his generation, the depositary of a “most excellent mystery,”

* Skt Texts, I, 268

† Prinsep, I N, p 232

‡ Skt Texts, I, 298

§ Skt. Texts, I, 304

|| Skt Texts, I, 297

¶ Skt Texts, I, 337

** Skt. Texts, I, 115

a distinction which his father Manu had enjoyed before him, and to the good terms on which he and his father may be thus judged to have stood with the divine being from whom it emanated, may be due the highly sacred and highly eligible building site which he secured for his capital — "Not on the Earth" for that is transitory, but on the chariot-wheel of the great "Creator, which will endure for ever" This story of the foundation of the capital may be compared to the shape which (we proceed to read) it is at present said to bear, being 'like a fish, fishy'

In accordance with the chronology which Cust adopts in his "Life of Rāma," Ikshvaku is represented to be a contemporary of Abraham, which leads us, in the interests of those who look for the hero of the Ramayana in the Rama of the Scriptures,* to notice the strong resemblance that Ikshvaku a name as uncommon as euphonious, bears to that of one of the children of the patriarch, for was not Ishbak among the sons of Keturah?† This, however, is not the highest antiquity which has been allowed him, one authority would place him in the days of Canaan, another tells us it is the general belief that his descendant in the thirty-sixth generation flourished before the compilation of the Vedas, others again invite us to believe that they are extravagant fables which talk of Aryan monarchs so far east as Ayodhya at the time of the Great War, and that the commencement of the colonisation of the

* Hindoo Pantheon, p 115, and Prusep U T, 215

† Those to whom we allude may further ask what great difference there is between the names of the son of Keturah and the son of Sarah? And, having thus broguht Isaac and Ikshvaku together, they may observe the general similarity, which pervades the accounts of one of the principal events in the life of the former and of one which is narrated, though not of Ikshvaku himself, yet of one who is identified in no other way than as being of Ikshvaku's family On the one hand, Abraham complained that he was without an heir and Isaac was born to him, he was afterwards tempted to offer him for a burnt offering, he laid him on the altar upon the wood, and took the knife to slay him, but he did not complete the human sacrifice, taking a ram, and offering it instead of his son On the other hand King Haris Chandra, of the family of Ikshvaku, being childless,

promised to Varuna, that if a son should be born to him, he would sacrifice him, to that god A son, Rohita, having been born, Haris Chandra consented to fulfil his promise (and—the story is here amplified—the son himself not fancying his share in the performance, a vicarious human victim was obtained and stepped into his place) But the human sacrifice again remained incomplete Haris Chandra finished his share of the transaction by a liberal gift of line to a Brāhman, the father of Rohita's substitute, a distinction being drawn between those given to him for binding his son to the stake, and those given to him for agreeing to slaughter him (points noted in detail in the parallel story)—this gift being at once the equivalent of the sacrifice of the ram, and of the approval shown of Abraham's readiness to sacrifice his son, his only son Isaac.—For this story of Haris Chandra, see Sanskrit texts, I, 355.

Middle-Land was coeval with the termination of the Vaidik period. For our own part, as "there is nothing to shock probability in "supposing that the Hindú dynasties and their ramifications were "spread through an interval of about twelve centuries anterior to "the great war,"* we find no such inherent difficulty in the theory that such a dynasty existed at Ayodhyá about two thousand years before Christ as to cause it to be relinquished as antiquated or untenable, and pending the acquisition of more conclusive data, we continue to yield it a qualified belief.

With the foundation of a dynasty, a kingdom and a capital, Ikshvaku's connection with history, as a record of political events, is at an end. Respecting the extent of his dominion, we may hazard a conjecture. His capital lay on the extreme east of the Middle-Land and, as we have said, was probably a border city, his western frontier touched Brahmarshi, in which Kanauj was included, whence we infer that in that direction he reigned as far as the left bank of the Ganges, which, as Prayág was in the Middle-Land, may also have formed his southern boundary, and, on the north for reasons which will explain themselves in the sequel, we doubt whether he ever crossed the Ghaghrá. But we know nothing of the neighbouring kingdoms,—except Brahmarshi—or of his relations with them. We might indeed conclude they were of a peaceful nature, we read of no wars, the erection of his capital on such unusual foundations probably presented many architectural and engineering difficulties, and, as he was a Rájarsih of no mean renown, religious questions must have occupied a fair portion of his time. Incidentally we may remark that, if he ever arrived at a thorough comprehension of the 'ancient system, the excellent mystery' which was entrusted to him, it is to be regretted he did not transmit the knowledge to a much-perplexed posterity.

The eighth generation from Ikshvaku saw a further increase of the Aryan occupation, such, at least, is the significance we attach to the circumstance that† Rájá Srávasta, the then king of Ayodhyá, built what subsequently became the mighty city of Srávasti, which, as already stated, obtained temporarily almost the same pre-eminence in Northern Oudh, or Uttar-Kosala, as Ayodhyá in the southern portion of the kingdom or Benoudha. From his time, for many generations, there reigned apparently a line of *furnéants*, who have remained in a deserved obscurity, or emerged from it only to perform sacrifices of an interminable length and miraculous character with objects equally astonishing. Trisanku, for example, a wild young scamp in early life, subsequently seeing the error of his ways, became of a religious turn of mind, and could content himself

* Wilson quoted by Prinsep, N. I. † Ancient Geography, p. 411

with no meaner ambition than that of ascending bodily, Elijah-like to heaven! A second instance, already mentioned, need only be again referred to, to note that the Aryan account overlays the story with details of almost endless gifts of kine to Bráhmans, which suggests that the donor and others of his stamp have been preserved to history by the grateful Brahmins as furnishing 'examples of life and instruction in manners.' To this style of king, however, there were happily some few exceptions, who rendered themselves conspicuous by the accomplishment of works of public utility, the magnitude of which has never been surpassed. Shall we assign the palm to Sagara, who, aided only by his sons—there were only sixty thousand of them—dug up and, with pardonable egotism, bestowed his own name on the ocean! or to Bhagiratha, who rivaling Prometheus with his fire, brought the Ganges down from heaven!

As we draw near to the time of Ráma, and not till then, we meet with names familiar to us, not in connection with deeds of high emprise, or superlative religious zeal, but from causes hitherto inactive, from being those of the founders or the eponymous heroes of district clans of the Solar race. And this prompts the question whether it is pure accident that this phenomenon should appear immediately before the stirring times of Ráma. It may be that Dírghabáhu and Raghu were merely imaginary beings, but the case is susceptible of other explanations. It is not unreasonable to suppose that there was at this time a crisis in the fortunes of the Solar race, similar to that which two or three centuries earlier their Lunar brethren had had to meet, that the prolonged contest, which sprung from the evenly-balanced power of the two antagonistic branches of the latter, was obviated with the former by the speedy subjection and expulsion of the weaker branch represented by Dírghabáhu and Raghu, by the stronger represented by the ancestors of Rama, that the warlike spirit, which was engendered in the domestic struggle, and which, with the latter, played such havoc with both the conquerors and the conquered finding with the former no scope for its exercise at home, started the victors on a career of conquest, which reached its climax in the time of Ráma. Or, rejecting this theory of domestic feud, and accepting as correct the pedigree which makes Dírghabáhu and Raghu immediate ancestors of Ráma,* we may adopt the alternative hypothesis, that in Dírghabáhu and Raghu we detect the revival of the spirit of Ikshváku† the warrior, after it had slumbered through so many generations of descendants of Ikshváku the prophet, and that it was they who inaugu-

* Dírghabáhu, Raghu, Aja, Dasara
tha, Ráma

† Ikshváku, like Rama, seems to

have "enjoyed the two-fold office of king and prophet."—See *Ain i Akbari*

rated that aggressive policy which ultimately led to Rāma's distant expeditions

But let Ikshváku and others be as mythical as saintly, let Dīrghabahu and Raghu be numbered with Romulus and Hellen, in Rāma—Dasaratha only lives in history as Rama's father—in Rāma, at least, we have a character, who, it is universally agreed, deserves a place in history, who actually once existed in the flesh, which (say his worshippers) was an incarnation of the deity, who was, beyond a doubt, the most powerful sovereign of the age in which he lived, who first led an Aryan army into southern India and Ceylon, and, more important than all these together from the point of view of local history, raised Ayodhyá to that pitch of splendour for which it has ever since been famous.

The kingdom over which King Dasaratha reigned stretched from the heights of the snow clad Himálayas on the north to the broad valley of the Ganges on the south, while by a curious coincidence, the frontiers on east and west presented to each other a contrast as great in a religious aspect, as that which existed between the physical features of the north and south. For was it not at Nímkar,* that the manifestation of the beneficent boar-god, the restorer of the Vedas, is said to have occurred?—and was it not at the *debouchure* of the Gaudak that the errors disseminated by a later malignant incarnation of the same deity flourished in their greatest vigour? The capital had grown in the course of ages into a city worthy of its site, and about this time, we learn with surprise, received a great addition to its splendour from a far-famed local divine † Vasishttha Muni who, throwing into the shade all the paltry gifts of fountains with which modern capitals have been adorned, presented it with no less munificent a gift than the river Sarayu itself!—the value of the gift being much enhanced, no doubt, in the eyes of the recipients by its sacred source, springing as it did, from tears of joy shed on a former occasion by Brahma or the Supreme Being, and preserved in the Mansarwar lake!

The heir to so much magnificence and to such a brilliant destiny could hardly be expected to make his appearance in the world without some assistance to the ordinary laws of nature. King Dasaratha, in strong contrast, says Mr. Carnegie, to his son who afterwards evinced a decided predilection for monogamy, had (*pro pudor!*) no less than three hundred and sixty-three wives, of whom we by no means regret that we know the names of no more than three, Kausalyá, Kaikeyí, Sumitra. Can it be believed that with

* See Faizabad Report, p. 10, where this is said to be the western boundary, the eastern being undefined, hence we have followed, as regards the latter, the *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxiii, p. 173.
† Faizabad Report, p. 9

all this 'prodigality of connubial happiness,' King Dasaratha was yet without an heir! Such, however, was the case, a *deus ex machina* was necessary to remove the difficulty, and appropriately enough found in a hermit imbued with an extraordinary quantity of ascetic acid, who had found his way into existence independently of any daughter of Eve, and had as yet been undisturbed in his devotions by the allurements of any of her sex. But how was he to be enticed away from his cell? Like cures like, a (semi)-homœopathic treatment was adopted, and a bevy of fair damsels, disguised as anchorites, were sent to invade the holy man's solitude, he fell a victim to the artifice, was brought to Ayodhyá, with his assistance a hitherto vainly-attempted sacrifice was successfully completed, and Dasaratha's three wives were all blessed with progeny, Kausalya being the fortunate one who became the mother of Ráma.

The exploits, of which Ráma was the hero, are generally allowed to rest on a historic basis, however imaginary the superstructure which has been erected on it, to him is awarded the distinction of having been the first to lead an army across the Vindhya range, and his name is inseparably connected with the conquest of Ceylon, but the importance of these achievements arises mainly from the evidence they carry in them of the extension of the Aryan occupation and from him who performed them having been the "typical Chhatrí subjugator of the South," they belong rather to the history of the countries which were subdued and colonized, they happened far away from Benoudha, they neither added to its territory, nor diminished aught from it, they produced no immediate effect that we can trace on the condition of its people, they exercised no influence on its after-history, we accordingly pass over them in silence, an account of them must be sought elsewhere.

The glory of the reign of Rámā was but as the flood of light in which the sun is bathed before he sets. His sons, Kusa and Lava, '*par nobile fratrum*,' are like Dasaratha, but subordinate characters in the drama of which the interest centres in their father, and there is reason for doubt with regard to their alleged duality. It may, indeed, be contended that to the one is assigned a kingdom to the north, and to the other the foundation of a town to the south of the river Ghaghrá,* which would point to a division of their father's kingdom by which Lava got Uttar-Kosala, and Kusa got Benoudha. Rájput tribes, too, are proud of including them in their genealogies. On the other hand, if local legends be believed, their memory is perpetuated in the names of forts and towns in the Panjab, in the Vindhya† range, and in Bihár,

* Ancient Geography, pp 400, 411

† Ancient Geography pp 197, 199

and when we read that their united names have passed into a term for rhapsodists,* we wonder whether they should ever have existed in any other than a combined form Kusa-Lava, and whether the same meaning might not be attributed thereto, as to Kausalyá, the name of Ráma's mother†

"After Ráma," says Elphinstone, "as we hear no more of "Ayodhya (Oudh) it is possible that the kingdom which at one time "was called Kosala may have merged in another," and this seems highly probable, but we venture to doubt whether "the capital was transferred from Oudh to Kanauj" It is with regard to such dark ages of history that we most appreciate the value of the legendary and locally-acquired information with which Mr Carnegie furnishes us, grant that it has not the full weight of written history, it still indicates the direction in which research is likely to be rewarded, it is, as it were the sign-post on the road of historical enquiry Mr Carnegie tells us that in a mound in Ayodhya, known as the Mani-Paibat, there has been found within the present century an inscription attributing its erection to R. Nanda Barddhan of the Magadha dynasty who once held sway there, and, as he points out, General Cunningham has on perfectly independent grounds ascribed the commencement of the mound to the earlier ages of Buddhism, and its completion to Asoka Irrespective, therefore, of the conclusion warranted by what we otherwise know of the magnitude of Nanda's and Asoka's empire we have almost proof positive that it was Kusagarapura‡ and not Kanauj to which the transfer of the capital took place

* *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxiii, p 165, quoting Schlegel

† *Ibid*, p 173 Dasaratha had three wives—one apparently of his own race and country, and thence called Kausalyá.

‡ We use this name instead of the better known one of Pataliputra in deference to the opinion of General Cunningham, who says 'Kusága "rapura was the original capital of "Magadha" (Ancient Geography, p 462) Rájagriha and Pataliputra being of later date (Ancient Geography, p 467) He concludes that the building of the latter was not begun before the reign of Ajatasatru and finished about B.C. 450 (Ancient Geography, p 453), but he also notes that 'Diodorus attributes the foundation of the city to Hercules, by whom he may perhaps mean Bala Ráma.' Now, Ajatasatru, here said to be the founder of Palibothra, and Bimbi

sára, the founder of Rájagriha, were both Seshnágs, and, curious as it may seem, there are some grounds for thinking that Balaráma was sometimes confounded with the first of that dynasty—The Seshnágs are distinctly enumerated among the Kshatriya rulers of Magadha—asmuch as they precede Nanda the first Súdra—and like the Yádavas they were of the Lunar race, the Seshnágs were the principal patrons of the Buddhist, while all the Lunar races (Yádavas included, we suppose) are said to have been Buddhists (Marshman, p 11) Again, the contests of the Yádavas and the pre-Seshnág kings of Magadha are more than once mentioned in the Mahábhárata, where Krishna—who like Balaráma has been identified with Herakles—is said to have seventeen times defeated his adversary (Wheeler, vol. II, p 475), and in that *avatár* of Vishnu, Bala-

The Nandivarddhana* here mentioned, Mr Carnegie considers to be 'Nandivarddhana, or Takshak, according to Tod' of the Sanaka dynasty, if so, Ayodhya must have fallen into the power of the stranger, about the time of the accession of the Seshnág dynasty, and such though not on these grounds entirely, we believe to have been the case. For under Seshnág we know there occurred a Scythian invasion on a larger scale than had yet taken place, and as he overran the northern provinces of India before he reached his future capital, it must be supposed that he traversed Benoudha as well as other provinces, and since, as we have just seen, it was afterwards subject to his dynasty, it is no more than a reasonable conclusion that it was at the period of his invasion, and by him himself that it was deprived of its autonomy.

And what effect had this event on the fortunes of the Solar race? Were they dethroned and banished, or did they continue to reign as tributary and dependent kings? We venture not to be dogmatic.

We imagine ourselves at the invitation of Spence Hardy,† in the seventh century B C, "in an appanage of Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha. It is an era of great importance in the history of the East, and men are waiting for some event that will decide whether future ages are to be ruled by a Chakra-

râma was a terrestrial incarnation of Sesa (Hindu Pantheon, p 20), the full name of the Magadha capital also was Pátali-putrapura or city of the children of Pátali, which may mean (of Gangáputra) that the Seshnága, its founders were connected with Pátali or Pattalene, which lies high unto if not actually in, the country of the Yádavas. Without presuming to challenge the correctness of General Cunningham's conclusions, we offer the above remarks as showing causes which may have led to Balarâma's being credited with the building of Palibothra.

* If, however, he be the same as the R Nanda of the Serpent race ("Notes on Races," p 19) who 'overwhelmed and suppressed the Kshatriyas,' he may be the 'son of Mahámandin or Nanda, named Mahápadma' of the prophecy—"he will be avaricious and like another Parasurâma will end the Kshatriya Race, as from him forwards the kings will be all Súdras. He, Mahápadma, will bring the whole earth under one umbrella." (Hindu Theatre, II, 137) —and of the Vrihat Kathá—

"As they were wholly unable to raise the sum, they proposed applying for it to the king and requested me to accompany them to his camp, which was at that time at Ayodhyá. When we arrived at the encampment we found everybody in distress, Nanda being just dead." This would indicate, by the-by, that Nanda, the Súdra, died at Ayodhyá, and gives rise to the conjecture, whether the stupa was not erected in memory of him.

It might almost be doubted whether the two Nandas were other than the same, or were at all events more than one succession apart, as while he of the Sanaka line comes immediately before Seshnág we find that "in the Dipawansa the Nandas" (i.e., those of the serpent dynasty) "are made brothers of Seshnág, who is elsewhere called Mahánanda," (Fa-Huan, Introduction, p LXIII), and if nine successions are thus capable of being huddled up together, one more would not greatly inconvenience them.

† Legends of Buddhists. Introduction, p xiv

"vartti, an universal monarch, or guided by a Buddha, an all-wise sage. The most successful candidate for supremacy who then arose was a prince of the race of Sakya. He received the name of Siddhárta. He was also called Gautama, Sákya Singha, and Sákya Muni." His father was 'Sudodhana Rájá,' and the names of both are shown in the dynastic list of the Kings of Ayodhya, and "there can be no doubt of the individuals here intended, Sakya is the name of the author or revivor of Buddhism."* It is, therefore, open to us to argue that up to the time of Sákya Muni, Ayodhyá was still governed by its own kings, and that, as no change of dynasty is indicated, they were of the line of Ráma.

Like all things, however, the question has another side. It is a moot point whether the name of Sakya is not expressive of nationality, rather than individuality, and Sakya himself is known to have been a personal friend of one of the earliest† of the Seshnág kings of Magadha. About this time moreover, at least before ‡ the Rámáyana was written, Ayodhya received yet another of its many names, Saketa, which from the above considerations, we need scarcely hesitate to refer to the Sakas—an offshoot of the race of that name, so much better known on the west of India—and to a Scythian origin. Shortly before the time of Sakya's father, also, we meet with the first royal 'emigration' from Ayodhya. The inference to be hence deduced is the same that we have already drawn from other sources, viz, that Scythian chiefs connected with the Seshnág line usurped the throne, and that the line of Ráma was expelled simultaneously with the establishment of the Seshnág dynasty in Magadha.

From the time of that event, the history of Benoudha is wrapped up in that of the empire of which it became part, and the tradition that after the expulsion of the solar race and the death of Nanda, Vindusara (the disciple of Sakya or Gautama Baudh), Asoka and others of his line held sway, errs but in the trivial particular of giving Vindusara, Asoka's immediate predecessor, for Vidmisara king of Magadha, the king to whom we have alluded as Buddha's personal friend, who "was converted to the faith of his former friend" when he "became Buddha."

During this period, say the local chronicles, Ayodhyá became a wilderness,§ but even then no meaner plant than the sweet-scented keorah could find birth in its sacred soil. Even this, however, is a gloomy picture, and we are glad to find occasion for

* We shall recur again to the connection of Ayodhya with Buddhism and other religions.

† Legends of Buddhists Introduction, p. xix

‡ See Ancient Geography, p. 405, which quotes from the Rámáyana a passage in which Dasaratha's capital is called Saketa.

§ Faizabad Report, p. 6

questioning its accuracy To say nothing of the inscription of Nandivarddhana, was it a wilderness in which Buddha preached for sixteen years?—was it a desert which the noble maiden Visákha and her father, a rich *merchant*, selected for their residence, when they migrated from the capital of Magadha?—was it a jungle of which the Buddhist priests were lords, in which the Buddhist kings fixed their capital? * “In less ancient times† when waste “began to yield to cultivation, it took‡ the name of Benoudha, “or the jungle of Oudh With this period the name of Vikramaditya is traditionally and intimately associated, when Buddhism again began to give place to Bráhmánism,” and,‡ elsewhere, we read, that “Ajudhya was again traditionally restored “and brahminically re-peopled, through the exertions of Vikramaditya of Ujjain” In these two quotations we have, we believe, the key to the whole mystery The Bráhmans we are told,§ having invited Buddhists to then aid against the Kshatriyas did not fail to experience the effect of their suicidal policy in the utter prostration of their influence, and it is not difficult to understand the feeling which would make them ignore the existence of the capital, or at all events preserve a discreet silence about its history, at the time when the religion which superseded theirs prevailed

If she be not fair for me,
What care I how fair she be ?

Ayodhyá probably existed as Saketa or Visakha, and was inhabited as it had been before, or if deserted it was only in the sense that Ayodhya is now, with Faizabad in its immediate neighbourhood, but *Brahmanism* was at its lowest ebb, it was *Bráhmanically* desolate

But Ban Oudha—is not the name itself conclusive? *Aut ex re nomen, aut ex vocabulo fabula nūtratur* Is it not to seek a Persian construction in an Indian word when we make the Jungle of Oudh a translation of Ban Oudha? If Ban or Ben in composition necessarily have the signification here given to it, it must be so in the word Benares, which on the contrary we know to be a corruption of Varánasi, formed by the combination of the names of two streams the Varna and the Asi || We have then a precedent for reading Barn-Oudha for Ban Oudha,¶ or at least for regarding it as the more correct form of the name, and if we do so it is to bring it more into accordance with its actual meaning, which we take to be

* As, however, Sakya Muni, son of Sudhodhana Rájá of Ayodhya was born at Kapila, the capital may have

been transferred to the latter place

† Faizabad Report, p 6

‡ Faizabad Report, p 4

§ “Notes on Races,” p 7

|| Ancient Geography, s v Varana-

¶ Would not the former indeed be the ordinary Pan form of the name ?

the united provinces of Benares and Oudh Tradition makes Benoudha to consist of the States of twelve rājās, which says Sir H Elliot would make it include the whole of *Benares* and *Eastern Oudh*, General Cunningham,* by dividing it into Pachin-rath and Purab-rath, gives it much the same dimensions, while we find from Prinsep† that this is not the only form in which the names of the two provinces appear in combination, for, factor for factor, we have Benoudha reproduced in Kasi-Kosala — “The kingdom of “Kausala or Kosala is well-known from the Buddhist authors to be “modern *Oudh* (Ayodhya) or *Benares*, the ‘Kāsi-kosala of Wilford’” Hence we regard the term Benoudha as descriptive rather of territorial extent than of the physical characteristics of a capital or province

Whatever the nature of the change effected in Ayodhya, material adornment or Brahmanical regeneration, it is universally allowed that it was in the time of Vikramaditya, and through his instrumentality, that it was brought about It is also generally believed, though a contrary opinion‡ is not wanting, that Vikramaditya of Ujjain is the one referred to, and in this view, the date of the event can be approximately settled, for, in strong relief to the fabulous particulars which form the bulk of his history, stands out the indisputable fact, that he established an era, and that its initial year was B C 57

Now, Mr Carnegie§ tells us that, six or seven years ago, there was dug up, in Ayodhyā, a vessel containing an immense number of old copper coins of the Indo-Scythic Kings, Kadphises and Kanishka, and Mr Benett|| acquaints us with a similar fact regarding the neighbouring district of Sultanpur About Kanishka more hereafter, at present we confine our attention to Kadphises His date is variously stated, but we have good authority for saying that the Yuchi dynasty, that to which he belonged, were very powerful in the west of India in the middle of the first Century B C It flows from this that Vikramaditya and some member of the Yuchi line who, unless Vikramaditya's reign commenced only in B C 57, was very possibly Kadphises himself, were contemporaries — Who, then, was this King whose coins, bearing his image and superscription, passed freely current in the time of Vikramaditya, and in the very province the restoration of which has so greatly contributed to the perpetuation of his name? In what relation to each other did they stand? Were they foes, and did the Yuchi expel his adversary from Ayodhyā rediviva? Or were they friends? Were they close allies? Was the one but an *alter ego* of the other? Was Vikramaditya Kadphises?

* Ancient Geography, p 407

† Prinsep, l 236

‡ As Soc. Journ., Part. I No IV, of the Rai Bareilly District, p. I

§ Faizabad Report, p 27

|| Family History of the Chief Clans

Prinsep at least "hazards the question whether Kanak Sen, (the founder of the Vallabhi dynasty) Kanerki and Kanishka* are "not all one and the same," we may add that the propounder of that theory asked also whether Yuvanaswa of Kanauj was not one with the Greek Azo of the coins,† and, when we attempt to establish a third identity, we have, we believe, stronger grounds than have hitherto been urged in respect of either of the other two. The identity of dates has been already noticed, how stands the matter as regards dominion? That of Kadphises must be ascertained from the localities in which his coins have been found. We have just stated that they have been found at two places in Benoudha, and from other sources we learn that they have been dug up even at Benares‡—And Vikramaditya? We need not repeat what we have said above regarding his connection with Ayodhya, we quote Prinsep, when we say that "remains of the palace of this Vikrama are "shewn in Gujarât, Ujjain and even at Benares §" In the East then, they both had the same frontier. In the West, the passage we have quoted shows that, according to tradition, Vikramaditya's power extended to Gujarat and Ujjain, the latter we know having been his capital. And did Kadphises include these two places in his kingdom? As to the first, we can, at least, say on the authority of Lassen, that the Yutchi rule reached thus far,|| as to the second, we consider the greatest proved antiquity of the name of Ujjain, and the actual or possible meaning of it. Under the pen of Hwen Thsang, Ujjain became O-she-yan-na, but the nearly similar word Ujjanta is, with respect to its initial letters, differently treated, and assumes the form *yeu-chen-ta*, whence we may directly argue that Ujjain might have found an equally appropriate transliteration in *yeu-che-yan-na*, and as there is nothing to prove that it existed *eo nomine* before the first century B.C., its existence then being established only by the accounts which make it Vikramaditya's capital, we know of nothing to bar the conjecture that it was founded by and received its name from the invading Yu-chus. Hence we have dominion co-extensive as well as dates identical.

But Vikramaditya's family and clan, it may be said, are well known. Precisely so, and the fact is one which materially helps our argument. Vikramaditya's father, Jayanta, was one of the Gandharvas, or celestial choristers, who, says Wheeler, were origi-

* Faizabad Report, p. 27

† Prinsep U. T. 220

‡ Lassen, *Coins*, p. 144

§ Prinsep I. 341

|| Lassen's *Coins*, 181.—"The Yutchi is, whose kingdom Ptolemy describes as still (soon after the commence-
ment of our era)—extending on the

• Indus to Gujarat."

We may be asked why we do not refer to the more recently published works of Lassen and it may be as well to explain. We have not, unfortunately, the means of doing so.

¶ Ancient Geography, p. 325

nally an ordinary Hill-tribe, and received their apotheosis only when their actual history became lost in mythical tradition. Another more highly embellished edition † of the same story is that Jiyanta, the Gandharva, was for his sins converted into an ass—was expelled from the celestial choir and sent to bray among the asses—a “laureate of the long-eared kind”—on earth. Wilford finds in this says Prinsep, the Persian fable of the amours of Bahram Gor with an Indian princess and the origin of the Gardabhinā dynasty, because the word *gor*, an ass, finds its equivalent in Sanskrit in the word *gardabha*, which, with an object to be presently made manifest, we may observe would in the language of the coins become *gadabha* ‡. Vikramāditya, then, was by descent a *gandharva*, a mountaineer, by birth a *garḍabha* or *gadabha*—an ass. The nationality of Kādphises on the other hand, is also undisputed. He was, as we have seen, a Yuchi, but it by no means follows that he would be so described on his coins. The name by which he is generally known, that exhibited in his Greek inscriptions is nothing more than a geographical determination. It is Lassen who says this, and he mentions in the same place, as a singular fact that the ancient Scythian empire of Gandhara was situated in Kripich (Capissa), whence it seems no forced inference that Gandhara and Kapisa were, so far at all events as Gandhara was concerned, convertible expressions without any difference of meaning. Again on the analogy of a common colloquial corruption, we may consider that Gandharvaś is equivalent to Gandhara, and so again to Kapisa. In other words, Kādphises was just as much a man of Gandhara, as he was of Kapisa, and to cap the account we have given of the locality of the Gandharvas, reference may be made to the borders of Gandhara (Gandhara)—on the north the *Hills* of Swat and Bunn, on the south the *Hills* of Kalabagh.

Now Gandhara || was, numismatologists tell us an acquired province of Kādphises—he took it from Hermæus. Let us imagine, then, which is not improbable that the acquisition led to the issue of a new type of coin. The legend would as before, be duplicate, but ‘Kādphises’ and ‘Kushangra’ would be replaced by a name identifying the conqueror with his new province, Gandhara.

* Wheeler, Vol I, p. 228

† Prinsep, I, 341

‡ The fact that the present form of *Gadha* argues rather in favour of than against the existence of an intermediate form *Gadabha*.

§ Gandharva is named in the *Mahabharata* as one of the nine divisions of India, but no clue is given to the identification of the name (Ancient

Geography, p. 7, may we (considering the power of the Scythian Empire of Gandhara at the time the *Mahabharata* was written) conjecture whether the one gave its name to the other? It is, perhaps, against this view that Gandhara is separately mentioned, but it is not conclusive.

|| See Prinsep, II, 176,

or Gándharva. The preparation of the obverse would be entrusted to a Greek die sinker. Adding the genitive termination of his own language, would he not make the closest possible approximation* to the barbarous name in ΓΟΝΔΟΡΦΟΥ? would not the harshness of the sound induce him, perhaps unconsciously, to make such a transposition of letters as would modify it, and would there not thence result ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΟΥ?† On the other hand, the preparation of the reverse would be committed to a native, with him too the word Gandharva would necessarily require trimming. His alphabet would demand the ex-section of the n,‡ the r would be first assimilated, and then, reduplications not being to his fancy, ultimately omitted § and he would engrave the word in the mangled form of Gadapha, || or first transposing the r and v, he would preserve them both and flame the word Gadaphara. Now, these are just the names observable on the reverse of the coins of Gondophares, and, as there is no question that there exists some sort of connection between Gondophares and Kadphises, we may ask whether, both by direct argument derived from the ordinary literal changes made in the language of the coins, and also by indirect argument founded on the legends on the coins of Gondophares, Gadapha may not be considered a name applicable to Kadphises? ¶ If so, we cannot stop there, we must further ask, whether Vikramaditya the Gardabha or Gadabha, the Gandharva of the hilly country, was a different individual from Kadphises, the Gadapha of Gandharva, a hill surrounded kingdom—whether they did not sit upon the same ** throne and ride upon the same ass?

But had not Vikramaditya coins of his own? do not the Gadhiaka-paisa take their name from him? They, too, corroborate our theory. "None but a professed studier of coins, says Prinsep, "could possibly have discovered on them the profile of a face

* At the same time, Strabo and Ptolemy gives Gaudaritis and Gandara respectively (Ancient Geography, p. 47), but to judge from modern practice either γ or γα might easily be rendered by ονκρον.

† Lassen's *Coins*, p. 31,—see also Prinsep, II, 162.

‡ See Lassen's *Coins*, p. 34, and Prinsep, II, 157-8.

§ See Lassen's *Coins*, p. 31.

|| The substitution of *ph* for *v* has still to be accounted for, but see Prinsep, II, 130, where the character for *pha* or *fa* is said in some few cases to usurp the place of *v*.

¶ Regarding the exact nature of this connexion, or the extent to which it amounted to identity, we do not

stop to enquire. To what is said in the text, however, we may add that the seat of government of Gondophares was the same as that of Kadphises (Lassen's *Coins*, p. 145), and that Gondophares, or one of the chiefs of that name if there were more than one, lived shortly before the commencement of our era (Prinsep, II, 214, Editor's note) and was thus very possibly the contemporary of Kadphises.

** The Scythian origin of the Kanauj princes above suggested, makes us enquire if the *five Gandharvas* who protected the daughter of the king of Kanauj, (Wheeler, I, 208) are in any way connected with the *five* well known tribes of Yuchus of Gandhara,

after the Persian model, and the actual Sassanian fire-altar on the other, yet such is indubitably the case" And the following is the response of the same oracle as regards Kadphises—that we have evidence of Indo-Sassanian rule in the Bactrian provinces, in that, "among the coins of the Kadphises" group, are two gold ones of very inferior fabrication than like the "Sassanian coins and differing in many respects from the class of "coins to which they are otherwise allied"* We have yet another link to weld on to our chain, and the coins are again the anvil on which we have to forge it, the material being the legends which lie on them ready for manipulation But our labor will be lightened, if we first examine some of the links already perfected We select those which "intimately connect" Vikramāditya with the period when the name of Benoudha is said to have originated, which couple him with the restoration of Benoudha, which render Benoudha inseparable from Kasi-kosala. In brief, allowing ourselves the assumption that the latter name may be at will inverted, we find Vikramāditya connected with the restoration of Kosala-kasi The material for the new link may now be examined the legends are two, that on the obverse in Greek ΚΟΡΑΝΟ ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟΥ which if (as has been conjectured the first word is a synonym of ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ † may be interpreted "Kadphises, saviour of Kozoula", that on "the reverse being Dhama Phidasa Kujula Kasasa Kushan "Ayatugasa, which may be approximately rendered *corn of the king* "of the Kushang Kugala Kasa"‡ Let us now place the old and the new links in juxtaposition —

- 1 Kadphises } (a) is saviour of Kozoula (or Kozala)
 } (b) is King of the Khushang Kujala-kasa.
- 2 Vikramaditya is restorer of Kosala-Kasi

We now feel prompted to claim for Kadphises a share in the restoration of Ayodhya

We might obtain further support, we believe, from the symbols and devices on the coins, nor do we think that we should even then have exhausted the arguments in favour of our theory, § but for the present we content ourselves with giving a brief *resumé* of

* According to our theory, these facts would connect one *place*, not two *persons* (who lived about the commencement of the Christian era) with the Sassanian dynasty

† Lassen's *Coins*, pp 59 64 But see *Ancient Geography*, p 40, Korano = kush.n = (*ibid*, p 27) Kapisa This makes no difference in our argument, as Kozoulo the principal word still remains, and whatever Kadphises was of Kashan he was of

Kozoulo

‡ We are indebted to General Cunningham for this translation of which the exact original is "Kush-anga Yathaasa, Kujala Kaphsasa "Sachha Dharmapidesa," (See *Prinsep*, II, 203, note by the Editor)

§ For example, Vikramaditya is said to have founded his era on the occasion of a victory over the Sacas, who are also said to have suffered at the hands of the Yuchus

The various points we have yet attempted to establish. The inauguration of the Samvat, Vikramaditya's era, occurred during the time of the Kadphises dynasty,—probably Kadphises himself was Vikramaditya's contemporary, their dominions appear to have been co-extensive. The capital of the one probably derived its name from the tribe to which the other is known to have belonged. The one was descended from the Gandharvas, who dwelt upon the hills, but, according to the fable, was a Gardabha, of which we take Gadabha to be a colloquial form, the other ruled the kingdom of Gándharva, a hilly region, the name of which would in the language of the coins become Gadapha. They both bear on their coins indications of connection with the Sassanian rule. The one is intimately associated with Benoudha, of which a synonym is Kasi-Kosala, as perhaps also, the inverted form of Kosala-kasi, the other is shown by his coins to have been king of Kushang Kujala Kasa. The one is reputed to have been the restorer of Ayodhya, the coins of the other were freely current in that city, at the time that restoration is stated to have taken place, which implies that if it had ever been reduced to desolation, it had been reclaimed from that condition, and become a busy mart of commerce, and that the coins which were in use in it were those of its restorer. These are our arguments and the conclusion we venture to base on a combination of them is that Kadphises and Vikramaditya were one, that the great unknown of the coins—*æs*—is identical with the great unknown of Indian fable,—the *monumentum ære perennius*.

(To be continued)

If Vikramaditya drove the Sacas out of India, did he come in contact with the Yuchis? Lassen (*Coins*, 181) implies he did, and lost his kingdom to them, but it seems as possible that he was, as we contend, the Yuchi, and that the successors who eclipsed him were Kamishka or Kanerki, and Havishka or Oerki—With reference to the following passage (Lassen's *Coins*, p. 53) "Βασίλειος Βασίλειου Σόττερ μεγας οοκμο

" (*Ookmo*) Kadphises—The evidently barbarian word *ookmo* probably "is the first part of the royal name "or a title." If *Ookmo* be a possible reading, we shall ask where it stood in the Greek alphabet, or put the question in another form, and ask what a Greek would make of Vikramaditya? Especially if he followed the spoken form of the name?

ART VI—THE INCOME-TAX IN INDIA

THE first Indian income-tax was introduced in Council on March 24th, 1860. Its author, Mr Wilson, had been sent out from England to deal with a state of things which cannot be better described than in his own words quoted from his Financial Statement delivered on the 18th of the previous month —

“ Our deficiency for the present year up to the 30th of April, as nearly as it can be estimated, is £9,290,129,—our deficiency in the year ending the 30th of April last was £13,393,137, and for the year preceding ending the 30th of April 1858, it was £7,864,222. Thus in three years, since the commencement of the Mutiny, the net deficiency of income, as compared with expenditure, amounts to no less a sum than £30,547,488. And what is our prospect for the next year? After the way in which we have been deceived by estimates you will understand with how much diffidence I must regard any estimate that can be made. But we can only, in looking into the future, take the best means within our reach. I have a special dislike to prospective budgets, they baffle and deceive the ablest Financier. However correct calculations may be, a change of circumstances often upsets them all. Well, but availing myself of the best information at my command as things now stand, allowing for a reduction of £1,000,000, which will appear in the accounts of the present year as compensation for losses, allowing for a decrease in the Military Charges of £1,740,000, for which arrangements have up to this time been made, and allowing, too, for an increase of income from Salt duties for which the necessary sanction has been obtained of £410,000, I cannot, even with all these allowances, reduce the real deficit of next year below £6,500,000, which would swell the deficiency for the four years into a sum of £37,000,000. * * *

“ I hold in my hand a statement showing the amount of the debt due by the Government of India, in India and in England, in every year since 1834. Well, Sir, on the 30th of April 1857, just before the Mutiny commenced, the capital of the Public Debt in India was £53,546,652, and in England it was £3,894,400, and the interest payable on the whole was £2,525,375. Sir, I need not trouble you by quoting the intermediate years, but on the 30th of April this year—indecid at the present moment—the debt in India has been increased to a sum of £71,202,807, and in London to a sum of £26,649,000, making together £97,851,807, and the annual charge on both

"is now £4,461,029 Thus, in three years, the debt of India
"has increased by no less a sum than £38,410,755, involving
"an annual increase of interest to the amount of £1,935,654
" * * * * This then is our present condition We have
"a deficit in the last three years of £30,547,488—we have a
"prospective deficit in the next year of £6,500,000—we have
"already added to our debt £38,410,755, and with these facts
"before us, it is for us to take a fair—I will say a bold—view,
"but tempered with caution and prudence, of our position, to rise
"to the magnitude of our difficulties, and with firm resolve,
"determine to leave nothing undone which lies within our reach
"to remedy so crying an evil

The state of affairs was such as might well have appalled the stoutest-hearted Financier The only part of the public which took any interest in politics was angry and excited Lord Canning and his advisers confessedly could not satisfy themselves as to the actual financial position of the country, and were afraid to take what they looked upon as the only true way out of the existing difficulties by imposing heavy general taxation Public credit was so low and money so scarce, that 5 per cents had only just risen from 92 to 95 and 4 per cents were quoted at 78, and the huge deficits of the past seemed likely to repeat themselves in the future if no heroic remedy should be discovered But Mr Wilson was not the man to despair "Shall it be said," he asked in council, "that the prowess and heroism of English soldiers and English civilians—I may even add of English ladies—were sufficient, even in their disproportionate numbers, to quell the fiercest mutiny that is recorded in history, and that English administrative capacity ruled in governing a country so kept, 'I had almost said so recovered' The existence of the empire seemed to be at stake We find the newspapers of the day, seriously discussing the question whether our outlying provinces should not be boldly sacrificed as the only means of restoring a permanent equilibrium Even Mr Wilson himself seemed to doubt whether the task laid upon him was a possible one 'I am sure, Sir,' he added in the speech from which we have quoted above, "if it lies within the power of the members of the Supreme Government of India, if it lies within the means of action of this Council, if the European population in India can assist, if the millions of well-disposed natives can aid in preventing so disgraceful a catastrophe one and all will render their best assistance in the work" His tone in fact was hopeful and determined, but far from confident

Such were the circumstances under which Mr Wilson was sent out as the first Financial Member of Council, and the wisdom of his appointment very soon became manifest During his brief

term of office, he introduced little that was new into our revenue system, and one of the few new taxes which was imposed under his advice proved eminently mischievous. We mean of course the export duty on saltpetre, which quickly killed what had been a flourishing trade. But he introduced an intelligible system of estimates and accounts which enabled Government to pronounce with confidence on the financial position of the country. Above all, he restored confidence to the public both in India and at home. It would have been idle to accuse of blundering the first financier of England, possibly of Europe. The Bristol hatter whose industry and genius had alone raised him to high position—the great authority on mercantile matters, whose whole life had been given up to the service of commerce—such a man as this could not be suspected of acting in the interest of a civilian *clique*, or of failing to sympathize with the independent European community. As soon as he spoke, the bitter opposition which had met Mr Harington, was changed into cordial support. The License Bill previously introduced was in fact an income-tax on a part of the community. In its original form, the servants of Government were exempted from its operation, and this alone in the temper of those times was a sufficient reason why it should be hateful to the outside world. Even as ultimately amended it spared all fund-holders and the whole landed interest. Why, it was not unreasonably asked, should industry alone be burdened to pay the cost of disasters which it had no share in causing? Why should Europeans be disproportionately taxed to meet the losses of a civil war in which they had certainly not been the aggressors, and from which they had barely escaped—bereaved perhaps of son or daughter or dearly loved friend—with their lives? Mr Wilson's income-tax did not do all that was expected of it. From the first its yield was far less than had been hoped for, and, independently of relaxations subsequently introduced, it became less productive year by year so long as it lasted. The Tobacco duty and License-tax on trades and professions, which were to have supplemented it, were allowed to drop. The financial danger ultimately proved less permanent than was expected. An equilibrium was restored more by the natural effects of returning peace and prosperity, than by any special exercise of statesmanship. But at the time when it was introduced, the first income-tax bill—pressing fairly, as it aimed at doing, on all classes of the community—at once disarmed opposition, and seemed to be the best, if not the only, possible way of increasing the revenue without interfering with trade or exciting the opposition of a powerful class. The Europeans felt their pockets touched, but they knew that the times were such as to demand some sacrifice from every loyal citizen. The finances were in the hands of a man in whose

knowledge and intelligence they implicitly trusted, and above all they saw that their opposition to Mr Harington had been successful, and that no class of the people was to be exempted from taxation. The bill did not, however, pass without opposition. Numerous petitions against it were addressed to the Legislative Council, but they were chiefly in the interest of the zamindárs of Lower Bengal, who somewhat absurdly pleaded Lord Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement, under which the rent or land-tax which they pay to the State was fixed in perpetuity, as a bar, in their case, to direct taxation of any kind. No other class of natives in Bengal, and no class whatever in other presidencies, is so capable of making itself heard, and at the same time, no class is more narrow in its views, or so constantly persists in putting forward untenable claims in its own behalf instead of considering the general interest. As it was in the case of Mr Wilson's income-tax, so it has been with the iniquitous Cess Bill recently passed in the Provincial legislature. They defeat their own object by uselessly reiterating objections certain to be overruled, instead of aiding in serious discussion by representing, as they are well capable of doing, the general practical results to be expected. The great mass of the people of course know nothing about the matter, and at all events, whatever their opinion might have been, there were no means of expressing it. Officials here and there murmured about the difficulty of assessment, but they were put down as mere grumblers. And in those days Indian officials had lost faith in themselves. With the outside public, both in India and at home, everything English was good and everything Indian bad. The Company and the Company's rule had brought on the mutiny. The Company's officials were mere ignorant obstructives who knew nothing of enlightened principles of administration. Every clever young barrister writing in a London newspaper, knew more of the people of India than the men whose hair had grown grey in faithful service among them. Of course the officials did not really believe all this, but they felt that the tide was too strong for them. They were disheartened, and acquired a habit which has not yet quite disappeared from among them, of letting things slide, and devoting themselves mainly to saving money or to a modest little stable of racers, according to their several tastes. And what was the use of objecting, when they had nothing better to recommend than economy? The example of Sir Charles Trevelyan,* too, was not encouraging. As Governor of Madras his resistance was carried to the point at which it became insubordination, and he was at once removed from office. In fact the opinion of officials was neither asked nor wanted. At the close of the discussion which ended in the passing of Mr Wilson's bill, he congratulated the Council on the

fact that, though every point had been carefully considered, there had not been a single division. It appears, however, from the published abstract of the proceedings, that the most important point of all was entirely omitted. The theoretical incidence of the tax on various classes of society was carefully and laboriously discussed, but nothing was said about the possibility or impossibility of bringing the actual assessment into harmony with the theory. This was the point where the advice of officials and intelligent natives would have been useful, but, as the question was never discussed, they were not consulted.

However, in the spring of 1860, Mr Wilson's bill passed into law. Its operation was limited to five years, and when that term expired in 1865, Sir Charles Trevelyan, the recalled Governor of Madras, was Financial Member of Council, and, as might have been expected, he did not re-impose the tax. In the meantime several changes had been made in the law. At first, incomes over £50 a year had to pay 4 per cent, and incomes between £20 and £50 paid 2 per cent. In the beginning of 1862 the 2 per cent. tax was abolished, so that for three out of the five years during which the tax lasted, it affected only incomes over £50 a year. In the following year the rate was lowered from 4 to 3 per cent. Within its first twelve-month the pressure of the tax was greatly lessened by the enactment of a provision that any assessee who chose to do so might continue to pay during the whole five years on the income for which he had been already assessed. As Government had no similar privilege, it is evident that in the case of persons already assessed at that time, Government could reap no benefit from any increase of prosperity, while, in the event of a decrease, the assessment would have to be lowered. It also seems clear from the reports submitted by the revenue authorities, that, at all events in some provinces, the attempt to assess persons not at first taxed became more and more lax year by year. There was therefore little probability of complaints being generally made after the first year, and at that time they would not have been listened to. It was unlikely, moreover, that such a mere trifle as a more or less irksome tax should have seemed a great thing to people who had been in the habit of seeing suspected persons strung up by the dozen by British subalterns before breakfast, and who had recently witnessed the confiscation of the lands of a whole province by a simple fiat of the Governor-General. The tax was in fact looked upon as a penalty for the Mutiny. The people were even surprised that no worse thing had befallen them. If arbitrary forced contributions had been levied after the manner of our Musalman and Mahratta predecessors it would have provoked no very violent resistance, at all events in Upper India. An intelligent and well-

known member of the Muhammaadan community of Calcutta* actually recommended that this should be done

From 1865 the income-tax was allowed to sleep till the spring of 1869, when it was re-imposed by Sir Richard Temple at the rate of 1 per cent on incomes above £50 a year. In the year 1867-68 there had been a License-tax, which was succeeded in 1868-69 by what was called a Certificate-tax. This latter was, in fact, an income-tax on certain classes of property, but it did not, like an income-tax proper, include land-holders and fundholders. The income-tax at 1 per cent was estimated to yield £900,000. But not long after the yearly budget had been presented to the Council, Sir Richard Temple left India for a few months on leave, Mr John Strachey taking charge of the Financial portfolio during his absence. His back was hardly turned when the discovery was made, or supposed to be made, that the estimates were all wrong, and the country was going financially to the dogs. Alarming rumours at once began to fly about, and at the beginning of October it was publicly announced, that unless vigorous measures were at once taken, a deficit of £2,273,362 must be expected at the close of the year instead of the surplus of £243,550 at first hoped for. An additional Salt tax was therefore imposed in Madras and Bombay, and the Income-tax was raised for the second-half of the year from 1 to 2 per cent. For the whole year, therefore it stood at 1½ per cent. A good deal of astonishment was naturally expressed at the fact of Government being compelled to revise its estimates so shortly after they had been formed. A few cautious old officials in the financial department whispered that there was nothing much the matter after all. Ill-natured people declared that Mr Strachey had not been sorry to trip up his colleague in his absence. The commercial world saw that the opium estimate had been fixed far too low. But on the whole the declaration of Government was accepted as substantially correct, and no serious objection was made to the additional burdens imposed. It must be remembered, however, that in India there is great delay in assessing and collecting the Income-tax, so that at this time a large majority of the persons ultimately taxed had not yet begun to feel the pressure even of the lighter tax originally imposed. In Council there was no opposition. The Maharájá of Jaipur, it is true, openly declared that of all modes of direct taxation the Income-tax was the most ill-suited to this country, and the most opposed to the feelings of the people. The natives looked upon it, he said, as a very odious tax, and they would feel it the more bitterly when the rate of assessment was doubled, but at the same time he admitted that the exigencies of the State must out-

* Múshá Amír All Khán Bahadúr

weigh every other consideration, and therefore refrained from opposing the bill. And he adopted this course the more readily because he confidently believed that when the finances were again, as he trusted would soon be the case, in a healthy condition, the Income-tax would be abolished. The late Sir Henry Durand followed in the same strain. He considered the tax to be unsuited to the country, but was reconciled to it in the present instance by the fact that our financiers seemed unable to suggest any other means of touching the classes most benefited by our rule, and he too trusted that it would be regarded as a temporary measure. The rest of the Council seem to have given silent votes, and so the bill passed.

Sir Richard Temple himself on this occasion, in a brief reply to the Mahārāja of Jaipur, brought out for the first time an argument which he and others have since very frequently used. He denied that the Income-tax was "odious to the people," and argued that it could not be so, because only a small proportion of the people,—one in a thousand, he said—is taxed. It has since been conclusively proved, and Sir Richard's Indian experience should have taught him, that a tax of this kind affects many others besides the actual assesses, and we mention Sir Richard's argument here, not because it seems to us to carry any very great weight, but merely as being one of the only two considerations having any claim to be called serious arguments which have been brought forward against recent opponents of direct taxation. An increase in the rate of the Income tax was not the only thing done to meet the supposed financial crisis in the autumn of 1869. Savings to a large amount were effected by cutting down expenditure though in the previous March it had been clearly stated that economy had already been carried as far as possible or in other words, to quote Sir Richard's not very graceful language that "retrenchment had been already pushed to its reasonable extremity in order to cut the coat of our expenditure according to the cloth of our income." But the Income-tax is the subject with which we are now dealing, and these other measures need not therefore be discussed.

In April 1870 Sir Richard Temple's second financial statement was made. In the first place an explanation was given of the errors in the estimates for the year 1868-9, which when discovered in his absence led to the financial crisis or panic to which we have referred above. The deficit estimated at nearly a million, had turned out to be no less than two millions and three quarters. But the increased expenditure, which brought about this result was—as appears from Sir Richard's statement—of an exceptional character and unlikely to recur. It may be that it could have been foreseen. We have not sufficient information to say whether this is so or not. But at all events the unexpected deficit at the

close of the year 1868-9 arose from such causes as to afford no colorable excuse or justification for the unusual proceedings of Mr. Strachey and the Secretary Mr Chapman, when it was discovered, and as we shall have to criticise Sir Richard Temple more or less unfavourably below, we the more readily express our opinion here, that in the matter of this so-called financial crisis he was unfairly treated. The Supreme Council cannot break itself up into parties like a parliament. It must act together as one man on the views accepted by it as a whole, but it is clear that though Sir Richard Temple's partiality for an Income-tax may be his own, yet the exaggerated views of our financial position which led to its sudden imposition at a high rate, was to some extent forced upon him. He may accept Mr Strachey's view now, but he did not do so at first, and if the matter had rested with him the sensational proceedings of the autumn of 1869 would never have occurred.

But we must return to his speech in March 1870. Having explained, as we have said, how the formidable deficit at the close of the year 1868-9 had arisen, he went on to say that in spite of the increased salt duty and Income-tax, in spite of the large reductions effected, the year 1869-70 too would end with a deficit of over £600,000. For the year then just beginning, the estimates showed a deficit of a million and a quarter if no extra taxation were imposed, and to meet this deficit the Income-tax was raised to six pies in the rupee, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. At the same time the previous system of rough assessment in classes was abolished, and assessors were empowered to call upon each individual for a return of his income. Thus, while the rate of the tax was increased, its machinery was at the same time made more inquisitorial, and a powerful weapon of annoyance and extortion was placed in the hands of all assessing officers. For it must be remembered that almost any native of India would gladly pay a good round sum to avoid the necessity of furnishing returns about his income, the amount of which he in many cases does not clearly know, and in all cases is very loath to disclose. From this time dates that violent opposition to an Indian imperial Income-tax which has lasted up to the present day, and which will undoubtedly continue to embarrass Government till the obnoxious impost disappears from the statute-book.* Not that

* As an illustration of the spirit in which the Income tax is regarded throughout the country, we reprint the following translation of a popular Bengali Song sent to the "Spectator," by a correspondent himself Anglo-Indian—

"The fruit of so much labour the blood of the bodies of the people—

'Taking this to preserve their rule—what sort of greatness is this?

"This is killing a cow to supply a Brahmin with shoes,

"The cry of the Ryots is like that of a frog in the mouth of a snake.

the tax was popular before, but in 1860 it was simply regarded by natives as a punishment for the Mutiny, and as we have said above, if they had objected no one would have listened. The European community too at that time saw that alarming financial embarrassment had to be met, and were ready to bear their fair share of the burden. Moreover the tax was looked upon in those days as a temporary one, and when its period of five years had expired, it accordingly ceased. In 1869 again, when Sir Richard Temple's first Income-tax was imposed its rate was low, and all or almost all the Europeans affected by it had previously come within the range of the certificate tax. There was no reason therefore why they should resist, and the outcry raised by the native papers fell dead and flat like most other purely native complaints. In the autumn of 1869 when the rate of the tax was raised a pressing financial necessity was alleged, and though, as we have said, the incredulous expressed doubt and talked about "hysterics in high places," the appeal which Government then made to the public was on the whole successful. But when the new budget was produced, and it became apparent that the financial administration was drifting without rudder or compass, without a policy or a definite aim, simply relying on the Income-tax to meet the deficit created by the reckless extravagance of the great spending departments under the direct control of the Supreme Government—when this was seen, and an Income-tax at a rate rising or falling as might be required to suit the fluctuations of the opium market, the ambition of a clever engineer, or the incapacity of a blundering financier—when such a tax as this was proposed as a permanent resource, and imposed at an oppressively heavy rate, the patience of the European public could last

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- "The assessors are their grandfathers' fathers. Instead of a handful,
'they fill their arms,'
"Coming on the poor, like the King of Death, they go from village to
'village'
"As a water melon which may be held in the hand, contains seven hand
'fuls of seeds,'
"So these clever fellows get ten rupees, when the income-tax is one rupee
'only'
"The tax used to be on the land, then it fell on water, and oh, mother!
'what will the end be?'
"Thus thinking the wind flew away in terror, saying, "By and by, they
'will seize me too by the hair of the head'"
"If this be so in time of peace, when war comes our very lives will be
'taken',
"If the watercourses are dry in winter, summer will bring death,
"When the word is given our fortunes flow to the treasury,
"As a child might to its nurse's arms when she calls
"Lord Lawrence's reign being over, we thought that trouble was past.
"Past is it? or but coming? Any one may see,
"The dark age is only beginning—what will be our fate hereafter?
"Lord Mayo's voice is heard. The soul trembles with fear"

no longer, and a violent outcry was raised in the English papers. The native press was encouraged by this support to speak out more loudly and boldly than before. Local Governments were driven, by the dangerous spirit everywhere visible, to enquire more closely than they had ever done before into the real working of the tax. District officers, finding themselves at last consulted, expressed their almost unanimous opinion regarding the impossibility of justly distributing direct taxation, and, consequently, the truth for the first time became fully known, and an absolutely overwhelming mass of evidence was collected to shew the grievous hardship and great political danger resulting from the attempt to remedy by direct taxation the financial blunders of Government.

The opposition began in Council. Mr Chapman, the additional official member from Bombay, said that he considered the tax unsuited to the circumstances of the country, and recommended a policy of economy rather than one of additional taxation, not the cheese-paring in which the Financial Department delighted, or the extravagant folly of reducing public works expenditure while keeping up establishments almost on their former scale, but real, earnest economy. Mr Bullen Smith*—one of the ablest non-official member who has ever sat in Council, a member whose broad intelligence contrasts very strongly with the narrow doctrinaire notions of the present ruling clique—followed in the same strain, "In common," he said, "with almost all who have troubled themselves to think about the matter at all, I have always considered the Income-tax unsuitable to this country, and the more I have heard of its working the stronger has this opinion become. From the nature and habits of the people with whom we have to deal, it is a tax which never has brought, and I believe never will bring, into the coffers of Government anything like the amount it ought to bring, if fairly paid by all those who are supposed to come within its scope. It is therefore a tax which falls with peculiar severity on comparatively few, and it is a tax which is attended with much oppression in the rural districts, not only towards people who ought to pay, but to many whom the Government do not expect to contribute towards it." Mr Cowie, another non-official member, said "a tolerably long experience in this Council enables me to say, that what is by courtesy called a discussion on the budget, is no discussion at all, inasmuch as no amount of argument will alter the foregone conclusions which have been arrived at. All that

* Mr Bullen Smith, as a member of the firm to which the vast zemindaries of Watson & Co now belong, is a better authority on matters affecting the native agricultural community than most non-official Europeans.

"honourable members can do, is to ventilate their individual opinions." He then went on to express astonishment at the poverty of invention which could devise no better means of increasing the revenue, than two or three turns of the screw of the Income-tax, and said that if it rested with him, the Finance Minister should be compelled to devise some other mode of taxation. Mr Stephen, as a member of the executive Government, of course supported the tax. So did Mr Strachey, who took the opportunity of prominently putting forward his favourite doctrine, that the imposition of new taxes is the great civilizing agency from which alone there is hope for the future. Sir Henry Durand, while again declaring his conviction that the income-tax was odious to the country, unsuited to the people, and poor in its return, was compelled to vote with his colleagues. Sir Richard Temple expressed the opinion which he has since frequently repeated, that the tax is an excellent one. He refrained, however, as he has consistently since refrained, from producing arguments in support of this view. We must, however, do him the justice of saying that he dissented from Mr Strachey's singular notion, that an increase of taxation in a new form, which, though involving no control on the part of those who bear it, we are pleased to call local, is an object to be striven for. And so the bill passed.

As might have been expected, a violent opposition at once began out of doors, and the outcry became louder and more angry when it was discovered a few weeks later, that the estimates on which the budget was framed were again all wrong, and that the year 1869-70 ended with a small surplus of £118,668 instead of the expected deficit of £625,594, thus removing one of the principal justifications which had been put forward for the heavy rate of tax imposed. The Calcutta Chamber of Commerce addressed Government as soon as this fact was known, and received in reply one of those illogical and uncourteous letters which the Financial Secretariat is peculiarly skilful in composing. The revenues and expenditure of one year, they were told, have nothing to do with those of another year, and consequently no remission could be made in the heavy rate of Income-tax. The notion of Sir Richard Temple and Mr Chapman, men without the slightest special knowledge or experience, delivering themselves on the subject of estimates and accounts to Mr Bullen Smith and his colleagues, whose whole life has been spent in commercial pursuits, is sufficiently ludicrous. The doctrine that new taxes should be imposed and remitted year by year to meet every fluctuation in the opium revenue, no account being taken of previous actual results, is too absurd one would think to be propounded with a grave face by any sensible man. But the gravity of the Government of India is immovable. They replied as we have said, and stuck to the tax at 3½ per cent. Liv-

ing as they were at Simla, out of reach of all personal sources of information, they stopped their ears to the complaints re-echoed throughout the country, and simply denied that the tax was specially burdensome. They made no reference to the district officers who alone could have told them of the facts. Their serene self-complacency was untroubled by a doubt. It is a mere selfish cry, they said, raised by the European interlopers and repeated in the native papers. As for the suffering of the poor—how can they suffer when incomes under £50 a year go free? So the Income-tax and the gaieties at Simla were alike undisturbed. The Government of the North-West Provinces gave ample warning that all was not going well. Here, in Bengal, Sir William Grey was equally outspoken as to the irritation created by the tax, and the impossibility of assessing it with any approach to justice. But local Governments, like non-official Europeans and native papers, and district officers, are objects too mean to be considered by Lord Mayo and his advisers. It was evident to them that the whole Indian world, from provincial Governors downwards, had conspired to bring railing accusations against their pet tax from mere malice and envy.

In March last the budget of the present year, 1871-72, was presented to the Council, and our Indian readers will remember the debate which followed when a renewed income-tax was proposed at the rate of one per cent on all incomes above £75 a year. The estimates of the previous year had again been at fault. Instead of a bare equilibrium, there had been a surplus of a million, so that half the amount realised from the Income-tax could have been spared. For the present year the estimated deficit, if the income-tax were remitted, was no more than £550,000, a sum which it did not require a very striking amount of ingenuity to raise or save in some other way. But Simla had its back up, and was not going to be beaten whatever the continent of India might say. Things had come to a pretty pass if Members of Council, fresh from the clear air of the hills, were to give way before the vulgar herd, official and non-official, of dwellers in the plains. Sir Richard Temple gave it to be understood that the Income-tax was in no way exceptionally burdensome, that in fact so far as he knew only thirteen cases of oppression under it had occurred in all India,* and re-imposed it, as we have said, at the rate of one per cent. Thereupon followed a debate such as no Indian Council had hitherto witnessed. Mr Robinson, the official Member for Madras, after detailing the various taxes already borne by the agricultural population of his presidency, earnestly pleaded against the imposition of this further grievous burden.

* His words were carefully guarded but they were evidently intended to convey this impression. In fact if this was not their meaning they had none.

' We had no instance," he said, " of the successful application of an Income-tax of this kind to a poor agricultural country like India. He was perfectly satisfied that this form of taxation was eminently unsuited to and absolutely unfair in, this land of small peasant farmers and moderate proprietors, where agriculture was almost the only important industry, and employed eighty per cent of an indigen population, and where, probably, nearly one half of the average profits of all agricultural toil, industry and capital was already swept away by crushing taxation, to pay military charges and the interest on old War Loans, and for the costly administration of the most expensive nation in the world. An Income tax was, he thought, utterly out of place, and inequitable amongst an agricultural population already placed relatively at great disadvantage as respects taxation. And the inequitableness of this additional tax on their profits was, at this moment, enhanced by the fact that it operated in further diminution of agricultural profits, at a time when these were already in course of serious additional narrowing under the revised settlements which were being carried out throughout the length and breadth of the land, and were likely to diminish seriously the value of all landed property as an investment and a means of livelihood.

" The Government of India had before them papers from Madras which shewed how utterly impossible it was to assess equitably landed incomes in this country—and in almost every income tax assessment the land question was involved—without disturbing, far and wide, existing conditions, exciting deep agrarian discontent, and causing much confusion, oppression and corruption. The "rack rent" of landed property could not be ascertained without inquisitorial measures, and a departure from the existing system of land administration, which would cause serious dissatisfaction. In short, he considered that the levy of an Income tax on agricultural interests, as they now presented themselves in India, was impolitic and inequitable, and now, he believed, happily needless.

" He need scarcely add that the *modus operandi* of this measure of taxation furnished another most serious objection to its needless continuance. In England, there was some morality amongst income tax assessors and assesses, feeble as this instinct was, even there, amongst the latter. In this country, he was sorry to say that, almost universally, only the worst instincts were roused and exercised on both sides under the operation of this measure. Any one practically acquainted with the working of the Income tax knew that the whole thing, from one end of the country to the other was an unseemly and demoralising wrangle between the lower orders of Government officials, and the people of all classes—for, from interested motives, the challenge was carried far below the classes intended to be taxed, and exemption fees were levied by threats far and wide—a wrangle in which the superior orders of Government officials rarely found that they could act as umpires equitably or to their own satisfaction. Bewildering inability to reach the truth,) unfair charge and surcharge, and too often oppression, partiality and corruption, on the one side, were met by disingenuousness and cinging, and too often by lying and bribery, on

"the other He was perfectly satisfied it was not worth the while of an honourable Government, which was deeply interested in the moral well being of this people, and in the integrity of their public services, to endeavour to recoup a more or less illusory adverse balance of £500 000, in a generous revenue of fifty millions, at that price, in the demoralisation of their subordinate public servants and ill will amongst the people, which was now most unquestionably being paid.

He further went on to give his testimony in support of the opinion expressed by Mr Norton the late able Advocate-General at Madras, that there exists at this moment a sullen feeling of discontent amongst natives from one end of the Empire to the other "The vast body of observant and thoughtful men throughout the country"—Mr Robinson continued—"had testified earnestly that this impost had produced a state of feeling amongst the native community such as had been evoked by no other measure of which we had had any experience"

Mr Cowie, a non-official Member, would have wished to see the tax altogether removed, but contented himself with moving two amendments restricting its operation to a single year, and to incomes above £100 a year

Mr Inglis, the official Member for the North-West Provinces, made a short but telling speech, which is officially reported as follows —He "would vote against the introduction of this Bill He did so because his experience of the working of the income tax during the years it had been in force in India convinced him that it was a tax altogether unsuited to the people of this country, and because he knew that its imposition was attended with very many serious evil consequences which ought not to be disregarded by any Government

"There was probably no member of this Council who had had better opportunities than he had had for forming an opinion on this tax He had had to assess it as Collector, to hear appeals against it as Commissioner, and latterly to look after the assessment of the whole of the North Western Provinces as a Member of the Board of Revenue, and he had no hesitation in saying, in the words used by the Local Taxation Committee assembled last year in the North West, when speaking of the income tax 'that it was a tax odious to the people and odious to the officers who had to assess and collect it' He believed that this opinion was held by every officer who had had to take an active part in assessing the tax. The causes of this were not far to seek The people detested the tax in consequence of the inquisition, oppression and extortion, which everywhere accompanied its enforcement, the officers of Government hated it because they saw all these evil practices going on around them, while they were powerless to put a stop to them

"The area of the districts was so large and the population so great that it was impossible for any Collector to make the assessments himself He was consequently compelled to employ a lot of underpaid Natives to prepare lists of the persons liable to assessment, and

"had to rely on information which he well knew to be untrustworthy, when estimating the amount to be charged on each person. It frequently happened that a Collector had not been in charge of a district more than a few weeks, or even days, when he was called upon to assess it to the income tax. He was consequently in total ignorance of the circumstances of the people he had to assess, and did not know where to turn to for information on which he could rely, to enable him to form an opinion on the returns sent in. He felt that he was working in the dark, that with the best intentions, and with the most earnest desire to do right, he was probably every day committing the most frightful injustice. It was this groping about in the dark, this uncertainty, this impossibility of obtaining any reliable data on which to base the assessments, that made the tax so hateful to the officer who had to assess it, and to the people who had to pay it. It was just the same with the income tax of 1860. The returns of that tax, published afterwards, shewed that no less than 93 per cent of the assessments were surcharges, and a surcharge to the income tax meant nothing more nor less than a guess made by an assessor on information which was worth nothing. The guess might be high, or it might be too low, but no one could tell which, and most assuredly it had no relation whatever to the real income of the person surcharged.

"The Hon'ble Sir R Temple, in his speech on the budget, said it was noteworthy that, on a circular being addressed to the several Local Governments in India, enquiring whether there were any known cases of oppression or over exaction, replies had been received from all of them (except the Government of Bengal), to the effect that no such cases were known, while the Government of Bengal did indeed transmit a resume of some thirteen cases. The Hon'ble Gentleman remarked on this that the number was of course a matter for much regret, though relatively it was not large. Now, Mr Inglis submitted that the statement hadly gave a correct impression of the purport of the replies sent in by the various Governments. He believed that the Government of Bengal replied that numerous cases of oppression had come to light, and that thirteen cases were forwarded as samples for the information of the Government of India. The other Governments, he believed, replied that there was no doubt that extortion prevailed to a lamentable extent, but that no cases had been specially brought to notice, and it was not probable that they would be, for a man who had paid to get his name left out of the lists, or who had paid to get off a threatened surcharge, was not likely to come forward afterwards and state publicly what he had done. Though the people suffered in silence, it was none the less true that bribery and extortion prevailed, nor was the disaffection and disloyalty engendered the less general, or the less worthy of the very serious consideration of the Government.

"The Hon'ble Sir R Temple had said, on several occasions, that it was absurd to call a tax unpopular, which fell on only one in three hundred of the population. Now, Mr Inglis confessed he could not understand how any one who had given the slightest attention to the objections urged against an income-tax, could make use of such an argu-

"ment as this It might be true that only one in three hundred of the
"people paid income tax to Government, but it was equally true that,
"of the two hundred and ninety nine remaining, at least one half were
"subjected to the most vexatious and oppressive inquisition and extor-
"tion when the preliminary lists were drawn up, and that a very large
"number of these men had to pay to keep their names out of the lists
"All this went on though the officers of Government did their best to
"prevent it This bribery and extortion seemed inherent in the very
"nature of an income tax in this country, where the population affected
"was so large and the officers of Government so few He did not believe
"that a man could be found who, having assessed a district to the income
"tax, would say that he believed the tax to have been levied fairly, and
"without a lamentable amount of bribery and corruption No blame
"could be imputed to the officers charged with the assessment and
"collection of the tax for this They everywhere did their utmost
"to prevent these evil practices, and they protested against the tax,
"because they knew from experience that these evil consequences
"everywhere attended its enforcement, notwithstanding their most
"strenuous and unceasing endeavours to put a stop to them It
"was, he believed, no exaggeration to say that, for every man who
"paid income tax to Government twenty paid to get off, and that for
"every rupee paid into the treasury another was paid to the subordinate
"Native officials, that is, the Natives of India paid last year upwards
"of two millions as income tax, and upwards of two millions more as
"bribes

"Everywhere throughout the country, the tax was demoralizing to
"the people, everywhere false returns were sent in, everywhere the
"trading classes were beginning to keep two sets of books one set shew-
"ing accurately their real transactions, the other set containing a care-
"fully prepared gubled account to be shewn to the income-tax assessors.
"How unsuited the tax was to the people of this country, and how
"heartily it was detested by them, might be gathered from the fact, that
"no Native Government had ventured to levy it and these Governments
"were by no means backward in devising new sources of taxation It
"was the British Government alone which had the power to force this
"tax on its unwilling subjects, and the British Government even could
"levy it only in times of profound peace

"A tax, then, which was everywhere and always accompanied by the
"corruption and extortion which attended the income tax in India, a
"tax which demoralized the people to the extent this did, a tax which
"created such wide spread and deep disaffection and dislike to our
"Government as this had, a tax which no Native Government had ever
"ventured to impose, and which the British Government itself could
"levy only in time of peace, was a tax which ought not to be imposed,
"even if it produced millions, but to put it on in order to obtain a paltry
"fifty lakhs in a budget of over fifty million pounds sterling, was, he
"maintained, most unwise and impolitic, especially when, as in the pre-
"sent case, there seemed to be good reason to doubt whether there was
"any deficit at all.

Mr Cockerell, the Bengal official Member, followed to the same effect. Mr Chapman, the Bombay official Member though he would have opposed the proposal to impose an income tax for the first time, yet accepted the concession now made of reducing the rate to 1 per cent, and exempting incomes under £75 a year, and supported the Bill. Mr Bullen Smith in a singularly able and temperate speech, said that he did not believe the tax to be necessary and remonstrated strongly against any attempt to place it among the permanent sources of revenue. At the same time he administered a rebuke as telling as it was well deserved to Sir Richard Temple's flip-pant pretence that he knew of no special hardship connected with the administration of the tax. "It might be asked," he said, "why" he referred to these things? Simply because he felt that we could "not afford to weaken, by one single thread, the slender cord of" sympathy which existed between us and those for whom we legis-late. However we might differ in opinion as to the financial "measures adopted last April we must all unite in deploring" the lamentable want of cordiality between Governors and "governed, by which the year now closing had been so strikingly" marked, and it was because he feared the reference made "to those reports*" would not tend in any degree to pro-mote a better feeling that he would fain have seen it omitted "sympathy."

"altogether or couched in terms of broader and more hearty. Mr Campbell, the new Lieutenant Governor of Bengal declined to enter on the question whether an Income-tax ought or ought not to be imposed, but was quite ready to admit that there was a strong feeling of hostility to it on the part of the taxpayers the officers in Bengal who had to administer it, and all the local governments, including that of Bombay. He further went on to throw out a suggestion of which, if we mistake not, more will be heard hereafter, that, however hateful to the people a rigidly administered Imperial Income tax might be, a local property-tax roughly and gradually assessed might be the best means of reaching the richer classes. In administering the Income-tax, assessments have to be completed within a limited time. It is physically impossible that the assessor should visit even for an hour all the villages where assessments are made. Everything rests on hearsay and is done in a hurry. The rigid provisions of the law in the matter of appeals, too, seem framed as if they had been with the express object of rendering equitable administration of the tax impossible, and turning district officers, much against their will, into instruments of torture. But if, as Mr Campbell suggested, all direct

* This refers to Sir Richard's state- sion had been officially reported.
ment that only 13 cases of oppres-

taxation were local, the well-to-do people in each district might very well in the course of a few years be roughly appraised. Mistakes would of course still be made, but the errors of a good-natured Collector would often be corrected by a sterner successor, and in the end a tolerably correct guess would be made at the amount of each rich man's substance, especially if the administration were made not only provincial but local, so that each man might feel that in letting off his neighbour too easily he was increasing the burden on his own shoulders. Another strong point made by the Lieutenant-Governor was this. In England the great advantage of an Income-tax is its elasticity. It can be raised or lowered year by year as may be necessary. Here on the other hand the tax at a low rate brings in so little as to be hardly worth collecting while at a high rate it is not worth the extreme opposition and ill-feeling which is engendered.

The other speakers in this now celebrated debate need not be specially noticed. Mr. Stephen, as usual, proved himself a clever advocate, and all the members of the Executive naturally supported the bill, though General Norman admitted that he did not approve of the tax. Mr. Strachey, whose sensational proceedings were the first beginning of trouble, denied the truth of Mr. Inglis's statements, and alleged from his own experience that if in any district the people were harassed and oppressed, it could only be from gross maladministration. At the same time he threatened Mr. Inglis with the displeasure of the local Government under which he served. Those who are not familiar with the manners and customs of the Government of India, will doubtless think such a threat to the last degree unseemly. Here in India we are accustomed to them and feel no surprise.

At the close of the debate, the President made a long and, in some respects, able speech, in which the following passage occurred —

"I was much struck the other day by the very strong observations that were made by my honorable friend Mr. Inglis, who is intimately acquainted with the circumstances of the North Western Provinces. He presented to the Council his experience of the working of the tax. His account was alarming."

"It is impossible to overlook such a statement made by so eminent an official. We are about, therefore, to request the North-Western Government to furnish us with a catalogue of the cases which have directly or indirectly come to their knowledge showing either oppression or maladministration as connected with the levy of the income tax. We are also about to ask that Government to supply us with the names of the individuals concerned, and the officers through whom this information had been conveyed. We shall ask who the subordinate officials are that were referred to, and what are the reasons why the Administration is unable to control or to prevent the abuses described. We shall further ask whether these alleged evils and demoralization are supposed to be

" confined to the assessment and collection of this branch of the
 " revenue We shall further ask wheher, if these evils are found to
 " exist with regard to the collection of this and other branches of revenue,
 " any remedies can be suggested to prevent their recurrence I can
 " hardly conceive that a more important series of questions could be put
 " to a Government, and I have no reason to doubt that the Lieutenant-
 " Governor of the North West will give his most earnest attention to
 " them "

The reply from Sir W Muir is now before the world , and we propose to conclude this article by reproducing from this reply and other trustworthy sources a few facts and opinions to show how the Income-tax really works

" The sentiments of Mr Inglis," Sir William Muir's Government replied, " are shared more or less by probably three-fourths of the officers in these provinces who have had an opportunity of forming an opinion , and His Honor has found with hardly an exception that those officers possessed of the most experience and judgment, coincide to a large extent in the views and impressions of Mr Inglis They do not indeed pretend to certify the degree or the amount of bribery and corruption, which they think was put incautiously by him into too definite a shape, and asserted with too universal and sweeping a condemnation But taking these statements as figures-of-speech, and as expressive of a very general prevalence of oppression and corruption, they are speaking broadly at one with him " * * * * " It was not the superior agency of the tehseeldars from which the oppression chiefly proceeded Where indeed, they were inclined to be corrupt they no doubt had large opportunities , and would be surprising if, considering the venial character of bribery in the eyes of native society, they were everywhere and without exception proofs against the temptation But we may hope that, as a rule, they were proof " " The real delinquents and oppressors of the country, were as the Lieutenant-Governor understands the complaint, the underlings through whom the tehseeldars or superior officers were, as a matter of necessity, obliged to work How else could the tehseeldar proceed where there were hundreds of villages and thousands of persons, whose means were to be tested—a process necessarily involving local investigation and local knowledge There was no other machinery to his hand, he was obliged to use it And yet no one who knows anything of native character should doubt that putwarees and small officials having such a commission, would, in the execution of it, attend to their own interests " * * * * " Such, though susceptible of proof only in rare and exceptional cases, is the oppressive manner in which the tax is believed by our most experienced officers to

"have worked. It will perhaps be asked why this bribery and extortion has not more frequently come to light? The answer is—why should it? The people were only too glad to pay and be free, why should they complain of a benefit believed to have been cheaply purchased?" * * * * "How far the unpopularity of the tax is due to payment of this kind made to escape taxation, and how far to a sense of the liability to over-assessment owing to the arbitrary nature of the tax and hopelessness of redress and appeal, the Lieutenant-Governor is unable to say. But so much His Honour may say, without any hesitation, that in the course of a long service in India, he has never witnessed anything approaching the popular discontent created by the Income-tax during the last two years. In many places the Lieutenant Governor's camp was besieged with complainants, and yet in taking up individual cases, it was almost impossible, from the nature of the case and the absence of data, to determine in any single instance that injustice had been done. The same may be said of the Commissioner, and the same of the Collector, when they amended the assessment, it was more by a sort of intuition that something was wrong, than from any distinct evidence of a specific overcharge."

Sir William Muir's reply enclosed letters from both the members of the Board of Revenue, in which reference was made to a previous demi-official communication, stating the Board's belief that great extortion was practised by the native officials to whom the assessment of the tax was necessarily entrusted, in the form of enforced payment of sums levied as black-mail by the assessing officer and paid by the people with the view of securing the exclusion of their names from the Income-tax list, or for their inclusion in a lower grade. This confidential communication must apparently have escaped Sir Richard Temple's memory when he spoke of only 13 cases of oppressions having been officially reported, since it cannot be supposed that he intended to make a mere quibble on the word 'officially'. However that may be, these later letters from the members of the Board are thoroughly explicit. 'I believe,' Mr Reid says, 'that Mr Inglis was quite within the mark when he stated that natives of India have paid as much in the form of bribes to escape payment of the tax, as they have paid into the Government treasury as Income-tax,' and again 'I go entirely with Mr Inglis, when he charges the Income-tax with demoralizing the people by the inducement which it holds out to the preparation of two sets of accounts,—one for the trader, and the other for the Government officer.' Mr Mayne the junior member of the Board, writes in the same strain —"It is idle," he says, "to call for a catalogue of cases showing oppression and maladministration

"It is useless to ask the names of individuals concerned. A few cases of this kind may be counted, a few offenders handed over to justice, but in the nature of things very few of these cases are ever brought to notice" * * * # * "But it is nevertheless true in my belief that cases of this kind are innumerable, and that they do cause and have caused an amount of irritation and dissatisfaction throughout the country, which is most deplorable, and may be not unattended with danger. It is easy to suggest to the Local Government to adopt remedies to prevent such things happening. There is no remedy save in the total abolition of the tax."

The Resolution recorded upon this by the Financial Department was of a character, which is very much to be regretted. Irritated, as it would seem, by finding that Sir William Muir supported Mr Inglis, the Supreme Government assumed that the hardship proved to have been inflicted by the tax, was due to maladministration, and in a tone which should never be adopted in official correspondence—least of all in a communication addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor of a province—expressed the Governor General's surprise that such maladministration should have been allowed to exist. At the same time, strict orders were given, that no officer of lower position than a tehseldar should in future be allowed to make assessments. Reference was also made to reports giving a comparatively favourable account of the working of the tax, which were submitted in the beginning of the year 1861 by Sir William Muir as a member of the Board of Revenue, and Sir George Elphinstone as Lieutenant-Governor, with the evident intention of casting a slur upon the present administration.

Sir William Muir's reply to this has not been published *in extenso*, but extracts from it which have appeared in one of the Calcutta papers* seem to show that it was absolutely crushing. With respect to the employment of officers below the rank of tehseldars, it was sufficient to explain that no such officers ever had been employed in making assessments. It is in the enquiries which must precede assessment, and in the necessary reference to those possessing local and personal knowledge of the inhabitants, that abuses and corruptions are most liable to occur. With regard to the contrast drawn between the present state of things and that which existed in 1861, the Lieutenant-Governor wrote as follows— "The Governor General in Council has been pleased to contrast the administration of the Income-tax as reported in 1861, with the state of things now existing, and to attribute the deterioration to laxity of control under the present Government. His Honour submits that it would have been reasonable, perhaps

* The *Indian Observer*

“only just, to have considered whether causes may not have been
“at work other than want of effective supervision, before assuming
“and publishing to the whole of India, the imputation against
“this Government of a lax control.” And again “An implied
“contrast is drawn in your despatch between the administration
“of Sir G. Elphinstone in respect of the Income-tax, and that of
“Sir William Muir. His Honour would not venture to place his
“administration in competition with the Government of that
“most eminent and lamented Statesman. Fortunately, however,
“no such necessity exists. For, as remarked by His Excellency
“in Council, the present Lieutenant-Governor was then member
“of the Board, through whose agency alone Sir G. Elphinstone
“worked the Income-tax, and in whose labours he reposed a gener-
“ous and implicit confidence. The present Lieutenant-Governor,
“as Member of the Board of Revenue, not only had occasion then
“in conjunction with his colleague the late Mr. Rowland Money,
“to carry out the instructions of the Government, both as to the
“agency and the *modus operandi* of assessment, but also in his
“circuits had the opportunity of closely watching the results.
“He has had similar opportunities, in his annual tours as
“Lieutenant-Governor (which have reached to every district
“in these provinces excepting Bundelkund and the Jhansie
“Division), of watching the present system, and he is able from
“personal knowledge to say, that there were no precautions
“enjoined in 1861 which are not now enjoined, and that there
“is not any lower agency now made use of that was not then
“employed.” We have said enough already to show what a wide
difference there is between the circumstances under which Mr.
Wilson’s Income tax was imposed, and those of the present
day, and the following passage from Sir William Muir’s rejoinder
throws further light upon the point.—“It is also certain that as the
“people became familiar with the working of the tax, they learned
“the comparative helplessness of Government in the ascertainment
“of real income and the checking of evasion, an antagonism has
“thus grown up between the people and the Government assessors,
“which has not tended to the popularity of the measure. For
“the same reason, their experience of the vagueness of the grounds
“we have to go upon, has no doubt emboldened those through
“whom the assessors are obliged to make their investigations, to
“profit by our ignorance. It is not surprising that people so venal
“in their habits should rapidly become more practised adepts in
“corruption, and should be able year by year to turn the oppor-
“tunity to better account.” In spite, too, of the total absence of
earnest enquiry into its working and the meagre reports sent in
from all provinces on Mr. Wilson’s tax, there is quite enough evi-
dence on record to show that the state of things was really not much

better than in later years. Thus in the North-West Provinces the number of cases in which the returns furnished by assesses were accepted as correct, was only 33 per cent. In the remaining 96·7 per cent of cases, therefore, assessments were made by guess-work. The report from the same provinces for that year says "the returns were if possible more useless in 1861-62 than they were in 1860-61. In the first year of the tax there seems to have been a hope that if a plausible return were made out, it might be accepted, there was, too, some fear of the severe penalties contained in the Act. The people also had not in 1860-61 recovered from the abnormal dread of offending caused by the Penal Code, and the events out of which the tax originated. But it seems to have been felt in 1861-62 that the safest course was to enter incomes at the lowest amount possible." Again we find that in the year 1860-61 the tax was so "unduly pressed" in the district of Goruckpore, that a falling off of 24·3 per cent in the following year could not be wondered at. This hardly seems to imply that the tax in those days worked well.

The opinions of various local officers which are quoted in an appendix to the N. W. Provinces Income-tax report for the year 1870-71 show very clearly some of the indirect evils, which it produces. Thus the Collector of Saharunpore says—"It is not only a mistake financially, but it is a mistake politically—it raises up discontent and irritation among the people, it is demoralising to the subordinate officials who assist us in assessing it, worst perhaps of all it weakens our administration and lessens our power of doing good, by undermining and destroying the influence of our district officers. The same people who many years ago used to crowd round and delight to talk to a district officer when he visited their villages, now distrust him and fly from him because he is a tax-collector. A district officer can hardly ask a question from a native now without exciting the suspicion that he is trying to worm out some information about his or his neighbour's income. It is our duty, unfortunately, as servants of Government, to assess this tax. But still it is also our duty to protest as loudly as we can against it—to point out the evils attending it—in the hope that some day the Supreme Government may listen to us, and may be convinced that the tax is not one which is suited to India." Other testimony is given to the same effect which we have not space to quote.

No one who has read what we have said above will hesitate to accept as substantially correct Mr. Inglis's account of the Income-tax in the North-West Provinces. But it may be said and doubtless will be said, that the case is exceptional, that in other provinces there are not the same difficulties of administration. So far, however, as Bengal proper is concerned, this notion is

entirely refuted by the Board's Income-tax report for the year 1870-71, and the evidence of this report is the more valuable as coming from Mr Alonzo Money, one of the very few officers of experience and ability who regard the Income-tax with a modified approval. Indeed, the circumstances of Bengal proper are in some respects specially unfavourable. It is true that the province contains a large number of tolerably wealthy persons of the middle class from whom an ideal Income-tax might very justly be levied. But the practical difficulties in the way of correct assessment are probably greater than in any other part of the country. Elsewhere some sort of subordinate executive establishment connects Government with the people. In Bengal there is nothing of the kind, and its forty millions of inhabitants have to be assessed by some hundred and fifty officers, the majority of whom are already overburdened with other work. Sir Richard Temple will doubtless point out that though the people are many, the assesseees are comparatively few, but this does not much affect the case. Assesseees do not live in a special part of each town or district, nor can they be collected together by whistling for them. They have to be searched out in every village. It was doubtless slow work collecting gold from the bed of Pactolus, though compared with the sands in which they lay hidden the precious grains were few. The Government resolution on Mr Money's report gives an excellent account of the way in which assessments are made, and as it seems to us alone can be made, in Bengal.

"Mr Campbell's own inquiries," it says, "tally with those of the Member in charge. In Bengal it may be said that while there are no permanent local establishments, the assessors are rarely selected for local knowledge of the country and people. They come as strangers. As strangers it is almost impossible that they should have, or that, during the few days they remain in each part of the district, they should acquire, any sufficient knowledge of the position and resources of the people. His Honour has in vain pressed assessor after assessor for an explanation of the way in which his assessments are made, but they have uniformly failed to give any clear account of their proceedings. An assessor, it seems, asks the neighbours or the 'respectable people', he looks at the houses he takes the profit of the land at Rs 10 per beegah, if he can discover the quantity, and puts on something for the cultivator's house, he makes a shot, and he hears objections. This is all that they can tell. The explanations given in Mr Money's 25th paragraph do not go much farther. Baboo Jadoo Nauth Chowdry well depicts the difficulties which have to be met, and shows how his typical 'respectable man' turns out a rascal, but as regards his mode of surmounting his difficulties, it appears that he merely summons neighbours or the 'respectable men' from different parts

“ of the pergunnah and gets his information from them The two next
 “ assessors quoted consult the headmen or make contending parties
 “ estimate one another, but they both seem to rely greatly on the
 “ *chowkeedar* In other provinces tehsildars and mamlutdars have
 “ been accused of corruption, and especially it has been said that
 “ when they trust to subordinate writers, peons, and putwarees, cor-
 “ ruption must be expected But chowkeedars are a long step
 “ below any of these Notoriously the most needy, ill-paid men
 “ in the country, it can hardly be supposed that they are very re-
 “ liable His Honour is impressed with the belief that if an attempt
 “ is to be made at getting assessments in any degree approaching
 “ similarity, not to say equality of incidence, it will be necessary to
 “ adopt much more systematic measures than have been yet at-
 “ tempted, and to persevere in them for a series of years ”

Again, the position of the zemindars in Bengal puts an almost impassable bar in the way of anything like a just distribution of direct taxation For it has been clearly established that at all events in some parts of the province, they levy illegal cesses of various kinds almost at their discretion, and among these cesses is one to meet the burden thrown on them by the Income-tax The sum collected far exceeds the amount of the tax which it is nominally intended to meet, so that even if all mere cultivators are exempted, as may perhaps be the case hereafter, from direct assessment, they will still find the Income-tax a very heavy burden It will be said that the levy of illegal cesses should be prevented, and no one could feel this more acutely or is likely to strive more earnestly for their suppression than the present Lieutenant-Governor But these things cannot be done in a day or a year or a generation, and till the relations of the landlords and tenants have been brought more into the light of day, or—and this seems to us a more hopeful prospect—till the gradual spread of intelligence and wealth has put the ryots in a position to hold their own better than at present, an Income-tax, or a road cess, or any other impost which the zemindar can shift on to the shoulders of his tenants, is sure to throw a grievous burden on those least able to bear it

There is much more to be said We might quote opinions without number in support of our view We might tell of cases by the score in which men, having been assessed and prosecuted and fined, when the few brass pots which were their only wealth had been sold, were found to be paupers We could tell of others driven across the frontier into Nepal to avoid the hated tax-gatherer But it is not our object to appeal to the feeling which such cases of grievous hardship, however isolated they might be, would be sure to excite We simply desire to lay the plain broad facts before our readers. The subject will be forced upon their

attention, when next year's budget is declared, and it is well to consider it now. Whether Lord Mayo's Government will give the tax up altogether, or hand it over to Local Governments, or stick to it in its present form, there are no means of saying, but we cannot but hope that they will determine on getting rid of this most obvious and not least efficient cause of the rancour and distrust which pervade the country. A tax at one per cent. continued from a previous year is of course a light thing compared with one imposed for the first time at a heavy rate, and year by year, if fresh assessments are not pressed, it will be less and less felt. But the fact that direct taxation in India only ceases to be grievously oppressive by becoming at the same time unproductive, is in itself sufficient to condemn it. Assuming for the sake of argument that the advocates of an Income-tax are in the right, it is nevertheless undeniable that the whole country is bitterly opposed to them. There is no distinction in this matter between native and European, official and non-official. The *Bengalee* is at one with the *Patriot*, and the *Englishman* with the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Surely then, some sacrifice might well be made in order to remove such a constant source of hostility and distrust between Governors and governed. In India above all other countries it is necessary that Government should be conducted by statesmen, not by arithmeticians, and we cannot but hope that even at this eleventh hour Lord Mayo's Government will decide on making a concession which, if not granted now, will one day be forced on them or their successors, and will either extinguish the tax altogether or at least hand it over to Local Governments to deal with as they please.

ART VII—REMINISCENCES OF AVA

FEW nations in the world have such interminable histories and profess such a refined pleasure in reading them, as the subjects of our interesting ally, the King of Ava, and yet there is considerable reason to doubt if any large number of persons outside of Ava have any clear apprehension of the sequence of events in the annals of that once famous empire. Unfortunately the so-called Burmese chronicles, which have been compiled by Burmese scribes, are of little value to European readers, and it may be inferred that not even a Gibbon or a Macaulay could place a select stock of facts in a form which should be at once readable and philosophical. Accordingly, it seems desirable to disclaim at starting all intention of writing an historical essay, and simply to confess that the only object of the present paper is to attempt to embody such reminiscences of Ava during the last generation or two, as may be gathered from old travellers and personal experiences.

Here some preliminary explanation is necessary. Of Burmah and its people something has been already written in a previous review. In the present article nothing is intended beyond a little gossip about old Ava politics, and the reproduction of half-forgotten anecdotes of Burmah and its court and capital, such as Horace Walpole might have dearly loved, and such as perhaps no one, with inferior powers, could ever hope to preserve from oblivion. Fortunately for ourselves, and perchance for our readers, we are in a position to incorporate in our gossip the reminiscences of a gentleman, who has perhaps seen more of the old Courts of Ava and Amarapoora than any living man, and by his kind permission we are enabled to string our little facts and observations in the form of a personal sketch, which at any rate will serve to give life and reality to our small details.

Mr R S Edwards, late Collector of Customs at Rangoon, has recently retired from the service of the British Government after an official career of more than fifty years, and he still retains a vivid recollection of old times and old scenes which have long since passed away from India and Burmah. He was born at Madras in 1802, just three years after the overthrow of Tippú Sultan and the capture of Seringapatam, in the days when there was no club and no cathedral, when the Nilgiri Hills were as little known as the mountains of Thibet, when Lord William Bentinck was Governor of Madras, and when the glorious little man, the far-seeing Marquis of Wellesley, was engaged in the all-important task of delivering India from the oppression of Mahratta supre-

macy In those days Calcutta was already becoming a City of Palaces The old Government House where Warren Hastings and Philip Francis quarrelled and fought and which until a late period formed the public treasury, was being transferred to the spacious building which was then rapidly rising amidst the jungle of Chowringhee Madras, however, was little more than a group of villages, with Fort St George and Black Town on the strand, facing the sea, and was fast losing the importance which it had enjoyed in the days when Haider and Tippu dominated over the south, and the French were in the ascendant in the Deccan Anglo-Indian Society was altogether different from what it is now Communication with England was about once a year Houses were small, and punks far from universal, life, though occasionally short, was generally genial and convivial, whilst there was a far higher tone in general society than existed in the days when English nabobs maintained Indian *zananas*

Our object, however, is not to revive recollections of old India but of old Burmah, and the times when Mr Edwards was a boy at Madras, may be sufficiently indicated by saying that he remembers the *mutiny at Vellore*, the *arrival of Sir George Barlow at Madras* in supersession of Lord William Bentinck, the completion of St George's Church on the Choultry plain, the construction of the stone-bridge across the Madras river at Chintradapettah He can also recollect the battle of Waterloo, and the settlement of the Emperor Napoleon at St Helena

Mr Edwards was educated at Madras, and was sent in 1819, at the age of seventeen to the Straits Settlement to be a clerk in the office of Mr Mungrý the Superintendent of Wellesley, which had been ceded to the British Government about the commencement of the century by the King of Quedah This once notorious potentate is now utterly forgotten, and in order to revive his memory, and call up some picture of Wellesley and its surroundings, it will be necessary to glance at the history of the Straits Settlements in the days of yore

Quedah is a small territory on the western coast of Malacca, some distance to the south of Burmah, and almost immediately opposite the northern portion of the Island of Sumatra The King of Quedah was a tributary of the King of Siam, but he was often virtually independent He was a coarse and barbarous Malay chief, half Musalman and half Pagan, whose chief pleasures consisted in adding new inmates to his Malay haram Captain Hamilton, who visited the place about the beginning of the last century, says that the country produced tin, pepper elephant's teeth, canes and a gum that was used for making tar and pitch, and that the King was poor, proud and beggarly, exacting presents on all occasions from merchant strangers

In 1785 Captain Light, the Commander of a country vessel touched at Quedah, and under circumstances which are now altogether forgotten, he married the daughter of the so-called King, and received the Island of Penang as the dowry of his Malay bride, subject to a yearly tribute to her father. This island is situated off the coast of Quedah, and was known for some time as Prince of Wales's Island. Captain Light offered it to the late East India Company, and as it was covered with an immense forest of ship-building timber, the Directors gladly accepted it with the view of making the settlement a great ship-building depôt and arsenal. Of course, under such circumstances, Captain Light was the first Governor of Penang, but whether he obtained the post is one of the conditions of the transfer or whether it was given to him out of gratitude, is somewhat problematical. It will suffice to say that his pay as Governor was Rs 2 500 per mensem, and that he had three members of council on Rs 1,300 per mensem each, and a regular staff of Secretary and Assistant Secretary. It would thus appear that the worthy Captain made a very fair capital out of his dusky lady, and His Majesty the King of Quedah did not do amiss, as the East India Company was induced to give him six thousand dollars yearly as an equivalent for all claims on the revenue of Penang.

Financially the settlement did not for some years turn out a success. The expenses were enormous, and had to be defrayed by Bengal. In those halcyon times there were no competition-wallahs educated for their posts, but posts were created as a provision for such gentleman failures as sons-in-law, helpless cousins, and 'ne'er do weels'. Penang was thus a god-send to the Directors, whilst Bengal was the milch cow that supported it. The administration of the island could not therefore be expected to yield any profit, and thus whilst the timber was good, the expense of building a ship was three times at Penang what it would have been at Rangoon or Bassem. The climate was at the same time most unhealthy. Captain Light managed to live until 1794, but Mrs Light who always went by the name of the Queen of Quedah was still living in 1819, when Mr Edwards saw her. By this time the old lady, like ancient Malay beauties in general, had lost those youthful attractions by which she had won the heart of her sea faring admirer. Her daughters, however, were fair to look upon, and one of them married a young English officer who died a General only a few years ago.

At the end of the last century the malaria of the Penang jungle was deadly. The successors of Captain Light, and the European officials generally, died off almost as rapidly as if they had been posted on the western coast of Africa. It was to obviate

this mortality and to provide a sanatorium, that the cession of a tract of land on the main coast was obtained from the King of Quedah in 1800, and dignified with the name of Wellesley after the name of the reigning Governor-General

Wellesley however, proved to be at that time as unhealthy as the island of Penang. When Mr Edwards landed there in 1819, this unhealthiness still continued, and Europeans were carried off by fever and dysentery in a manner sufficient to inspire their survivors with the deepest melancholy. The Chinese were already settling in Penang, but they do not so much fear death, and indeed, familiarise themselves with it by ordering their coffins on their wedding day, and keeping the decorated boxes ready for the melancholy occasion. An Englishman takes a practical view and will readily go to an unhealthy climate provided the pay is increased especially as the frequency of casualties facilitates promotion. Thus it was found necessary at Penang and Wellesley to double the salaries of all the European officials by substituting dollars for rupees, by which process the pay of the Governor of Penang was increased to Rs 5 000 per mensem. No one in those remote times and regions ever dreamed of taking out a European wife to these settlements, or if he did dream of such a thing he never realised it. Connubial felicity, such as it was, was invariably shared with a Malay partner, and the unions were to all intents and purposes real marriages. The Malacca ladies were at that period said to have been very docile and obedient, a circumstance which scandal attributed to the goodness of the Malacca canes, especially those which are known as Penang lawyers. What Malacca ladies are in the present day nobody seems to know.

Few people out of the tropics can realise the quiet jog trot of an office establishment of clerks in India or Burmah. Mr Edwards was head of the Wellesley office on a salary of Rs 200 per mensem, and in those days such a salary went a long way. It appeared, however, that whilst the King of Quedah was very regular in his demands upon the British Government he was very irregular in the payment of his tribute to Siam, and in 1822 he withheld it altogether. The non-payment of tribute has been the cause of almost every Asiatic war since the days of Chedorlaomer. The result in the present case was that the Siamese invaded Quedah, and the King took refuge in Wellesley, but was promptly sent over to the Island of Penang. For some time the poor King lived in sackcloth and ashes at Penang, but after a little while the English interceded, and Siam found it convenient to restore His Majesty to his Quedah dominions.

But whilst these small matters were going on in the southern quarter of Malacca, far more important events were transpiring in the northern region of the peninsula. The first Burmese war broke

out in 1824 Tenasserim was ceded to the English, and Arakán was annexed. Seeing that the English army was really in possession of all Pegu, and indeed of all the territory on the Irawádi river up to the neighbourhood of Ava, it does seem a grave political error not to have taken Pegu, which was far richer than Tenasserim and Arakan put together. The omission to do so only rendered a second war inevitable. Instructions were indeed sent off to Sir Archibald Campbell to annex Pegu, and thus arises the question of why this annexation was not duly carried out at the close of the first war.

Pegu was not annexed because of a basket of potatoes. The dispatches from Bengal ordering the occupation of Pegu arrived at Rangoon all right, but were detained in order to get some potatoes out of the ship which were much wanted at Head Quarters, and thus when the potatoes and the despatches reached Sir Archibald Campbell, the treaty had been already concluded at Yandabú, under which Pegu was to remain in the possession of the King of Ava. The result is to be especially deplored because the Taline population detested the Burmese administration, and no sooner had the English evacuated Pegu than they all rose in insurrection from Prome to Rangoon, and attacked the stockade which surrounded the latter city. But the forces of the King of Ava, although defeated by the British, were still superior to the Talines. An immense Burmese army entered Pegu from Ava, and then commenced those hideous scenes of cruelty for which the Burmese have been notorious from time immemorial. Villages were set on fire and utterly destroyed. The head of a village with all his family and all the leading families of the township, were often thrust alive into a pit and blown up with gunpowder. The ring-leaders in the insurrection were staked, disembowelled, quartered, or sawn asunder. But it is too horrible to run over the detail of such atrocities. It will suffice to say that the Talines were so utterly terrified by their barbarous conquerors, that many fled to Tenasserim and Arakán, and in the present day the Taline population of Pegu is comparatively small.

In 1825, Mr Mangay, the Superintendent of Wellesley, was appointed Commissioner of Tenasserim, and he took Mr Edwards with him as his head clerk. For four years nothing could be more satisfactory than the condition of the people of Tenasserim and Arakán under British rule. They were protected, and they were happy and prosperous. Moreover, they were cared for by the British Government to an extent which is rarely known amongst Asiatics. In 1827 Captain Burney was sent by Lord William Bentinck to conclude a commercial treaty with the King of Siam, and he not only conducted the negotiations to a successful close, but procured the release of two hundred Burmese families who had been carried

away from Tenasserim in the old wars between Ava and Siam. For his services on this occasion Captain Burney was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Tavoy under Commissioner Maingay. But all this time the Tenasserim and Arakán provinces could not be made to pay, and the annexation entailed a heavy yearly charge on the Bengal revenues. This was felt all the more deeply as the Burmese war had been very expensive, and had followed so shortly after the Nepál and Pindáw wars, which proved so heavy a drain upon the Bengal revenue. So in 1829 the Bengal system of taxation was introduced into Tenasserim, and disaffection was the result, which as usual found us unprepared.

The row began at Tavoy, a place on the Tenasserim coast, about half way between Mulmein and Mergui. Tavoy is seated some miles up a river of the same name, and under Burmese rule was important as the last naval station in Burmese territory towards Siam. In those days an official named Moung-dah was admiral of the Ava fleet at Tavoy, and is said to have had more than one brush with Siam. Prior to the first Burmese war this man had a quarrel with the Burmese Governor or Woon of Tenasserim. Accordingly when a small British force under Colonel Mile proceeded during the war against Tavoy, Moung-dah placed the Woon in confinement, opened the gates of Tavoy to Colonel Mile, and then took upon himself to cede the whole of Tenasserim to the British. This transaction was carried out with the utmost tranquillity, and far more easily than by deed of sale, and Moung-dah, as a reward, received the munificent pension of Rs 200 per mensem from the British Government, and of course continued to reside at Tavoy.

The town of Tavoy was at that time surrounded by a wall some twenty feet high, with wooden gates. The walls were defended with a few old guns, and garrisoned with three hundred sepoy's under the command of Captain Cuxton. The sepoy's carried six guns, which were only six-pounders. Outside the town was the wharf on the bank of the river. On or about the 1st August 1829, Tavoy was as quiet as usual. Mr Maingay, the Commissioner of Tenasserim, was absent at Calcutta. Captain Burney, the Deputy Commissioner, was officiating as Commissioner in his absence, but whilst his wife and children were residing in Tavoy, he himself had gone to Mulmein. There were not twelve Europeans in Tavoy, including men, women and children, but still there was not the slightest idea of danger. On that day Moung-dah asked Mr Edwards for his pension for the previous month, which was duly made over to him according to rule. He had also asked Mr Edwards whether rumours had been heard of any disturbances on account of the additional taxation. Mr Edwards replied in the negative, and at the time thought no more of the matter.

The monsoon was now at its height, and there was a very heavy downfall of rain. At midnight the whole town was suddenly roused by uproarious shouting and rapid firing. The few Europeans hastened to the arsenal, but there was brief time for discussion, for it was reported that six thousand men under Moungh-dah were advancing to surround their houses and murder them all. Captain Cuxton, who commanded the sepoys, was prostrate with fever, and perhaps the most courageous spirit in the arsenal was Mrs Burney, the wife of the Officiating Commissioner. This lady had her children with her, but notwithstanding her feelings as a woman and a mother, she comprehended the position like a heroine of old. Her counsel was brief but firm—to abandon their houses, and retreat to the wharf under cover of the sepoy garrison, and there to get the six guns into position and wait till morning. This prompt movement was duly carried out amidst rain and darkness, tumultuous howling and loud discharges of musketry. Moungh-dah was really at the head of six thousand men, and endeavoured to cut off the retreat of the Europeans, but in the first instance his force was driven back by the sepoys. However, Moungh-dah soon rallied his men, and killed one or two of our sepoys, but all the Europeans escaped to the wharf, accompanied by all the Chinamen of Tavoy and their families, and the guns were soon placed in position and fired at the advancing enemy. Amongst those who distinguished themselves most on this occasion was an apothecary named Bedford. This man had run a strange career. He was a European of good family, who had been educated as a gentleman, and graduated as a doctor, and was subsequently appointed surgeon in the frigate under the command of Lord Cochrane in South America. Unfortunately there was a drunken row, followed by a duel, in which Bedford shot his antagonist dead, and was forced to run for his own life. He then enlisted in the artillery of the late East India Company, where his specialities were soon discovered, and he was appointed an apothecary and sent to Tavoy. Here, as already stated, he gained great credit for his bravery and skill in placing and firing the six guns against the Tavoy rebels until they deemed it expedient to retire within their walls.

On the morning after the outbreak, the gates of Tavoy were closed, and the rebels commenced firing from the walls about a hundred yards off, whilst the Europeans and sepoys responded with the six-pounders. Meantime the Chinamen, to the number of two or three hundred, embarked in their boats and junks, but did not leave the neighbourhood of the wharf. Next night the rebels made a rush from the town, but were received with such a murderous fire from the six guns, that they were compelled to retire, leaving eighty men dead upon the wharf. This repulse utterly

cowed the Burmese, and from that night they never attempted to renew the charge, but remained encamped after the fashion of Asiatics within the town walls. The third night, there was a rumour that the Chinamen were about to attack the wharf and orders were actually issued for turning the guns upon them. Fortunately this disaster was averted by Mrs Burney and Miss Edwards, who from their long residence in Penang knew that Chinamen, under such circumstances are always firm friends to the English. Had there been no interference all the Chinese boats would have been sunk, and a painful distrust would have been established which time alone could have removed.

For seven days the English with their little band of sepoy were entrenched in the wharf. Fortunately it was protected by a plank roof from the wind and rain, but all this time there was literally nothing to eat but rice whilst the heavy rains poured down continuously in torrents. There was no meat, no fowls, no milk or bread for the children and nothing to drink but water. But there were no further attacks from the Burmese, who patiently waited in the town, in the hope that the English would ultimately embark in the Chinese junks and go away and return no more. Captain Cuxton on his part was so weak and ill, that he could see no possible way of attempting the recovery of the town.

At this juncture, and by the merest accident, Captain Burney suddenly arrived with the steamer 'Diana' from Mulmein. The sudden advent of the Officiating Commissioner filled the rebels with the utmost consternation, but it is scarcely necessary to add that Captain Burney on his part was equally taken aback by what he saw and heard. Immediate action, however, was evidently necessary. So Burney placed his wife and children on board the "Diana" and then ordered Captain Cuxton to attack the town. Captain Cuxton although almost prostrate with fever and averse to action without a reinforcement of European soldiers, at once obeyed the instructions of the Officiating Commissioner. The great gate of Tavoy which faced the wharf, was blown open, and the sepoy rushed in, but every rebel had already rushed out with the greatest trepidation. The town was recovered almost without a blow. Forty ringleaders were tried by drum-head court-martial, and hanged the same night, and amongst them was the ex-admiral of the fleet, Moung dah. Before this man was turned off he admitted that he had acted foolishly, but said that the people were irritated at the new taxes, and that he felt bound to join them. Hence the rising. Poor Captain Cuxton died the next day. Meantime Captain Burney proceeded to Mulmein, and brought away a hundred European soldiers to Tavoy. He then steamed away to Mergui to ascertain the progress of affairs there.

But by this time the news of the outbreak at Tavoy had reached Mergui, and the Burmese inhabitants had already begun to show signs of disaffection. Unfortunately there was no Mrs Burney to meet the emergency. The European officials were seized with a panic, and fairly took to their heels without even waiting for the expected rising. Captain Beasley, the Master-Attendant, was anxious to save the treasure, and therefore placed it on board his own boat, together with his wife and family, and then left Mergui. Nothing was ever heard of the party for a long time afterwards, when it transpired that they had all been murdered by the Malay crew for the sake of the treasure. The other Mergui officials would have followed, but they had nothing but country boats which could not put out to sea on account of the force of the monsoon. However, they had about two hundred sepoy who could not well be abandoned to their fate. Accordingly Europeans and sepoy crossed to a small island opposite Mergui. Here they were compelled to remain with nothing whatever to eat beyond a little rice, whilst the Burmese remained in possession of the town without any rising at all.

Such was the state of affairs on Captain Burney's arrival. The town was in the hands of the Burmese, the starving British were on the little island opposite. Having picked up the British, and heard their story, he proceeded to Mergui. There he heard another version of what had transpired. The Burmese population declared that they never had any intention of rising against the English, and Asiatic-like expressed their extreme surprise that the Europeans should have abandoned the town. The evidence, however, as regards the contemplated insurrection was too strong, and seven of the ringleaders were hanged as an example. But after the noble example at Tavoy, it was impossible to pass over the pusillanimous conduct of the Europeans at Mergui, and two of the officers, who had taken refuge in the island, were accordingly tried by court-martial and cashiered.

Captain Beasley, who met with such a melancholy fate from the Malays, had previously led a strange career in Ava, and his adventures are thus deserving of a passing notice. He was originally commander of a merchant vessel from Europe, which traded at different ports in the Bay of Bengal. At this period he always appeared to be a gentleman of good education and family, but he seems to have got into some unexplained row at Rangoon, probably respecting one of the fair daughters of the land. Be this as it may, he left his ship at Rangoon and bolted to Ava, where he assumed the Burmese costume and entered the service of a prince named Tharawadi, as a follower or page. Tharawadi became a famous character in after years, and there will be something to say about him hereafter. At this time

he was very partial to Europeans, and treated Captain Beasley with great consideration and favour, and Beasley married a young Burmese lady, and lived at Ava after the manner of Burmese pages. Strangely enough another local celebrity, a Mr Anthony Camaratta, who is still living at Mandalay, was also taken into the service of Tharawadi. Mr Camaratta was a Portuguese from Goa, and his experience of Ava extends over half a century.

But to return to our story. In 1824, when the first Burmese war broke out, Tharawadi proceeded down the Irawádi with a large army to oppose the English. His ignorance and arrogance were extreme. Although partial to Europeans, he declared he would sweep the English devils from the face of the earth, but his valour rapidly cooled as he proceeded further down the river. He saw that the Burmese were utterly beaten. General after General, who had hoped to obtain rank and wealth by driving out the Kullahs, were routed with ignominy by mere handfuls of English. Tharawadi accordingly returned to Ava, cursing and abusing his countrymen, and he made no secret of his opinion that no Burmese army whatever could stand against fifty of the English devils.

Captain Beasley had accompanied Tharawadi in this expedition, but instead of returning with him to Ava, he escaped to Rangoon with his Burmese wife, and astonished his former friends by appearing in his Burmese jacket and putsoe. However, he soon resumed his European costume and proceeded to Mergui, and ultimately was made Master-Attendant. But the result was not altogether pleasant. He not only threw off his Burmese costume, but abandoned his Burmese wife, and in a moment of dubious piety married a Christian lady from Calcutta. It was this lady and her children who shared his fate in being murdered by the Malays.

But to return to the general progress of affairs. Tidings of the outbreaks at Tavoy and Mergui naturally excited considerable alarm at Calcutta, and in the cold weather of 1829-30, Captain and Mrs. Burney proceeded to the City of Palaces, accompanied by Mr Edwards, to place their local experience at the service of the British Government. At that time Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General. This much-belauded statesman was one of the most peaceful and philanthropic of Indian rulers, but his genius displayed itself more in the promotion of steam communication and tea cultivation, and in flattering educated Bengáls, than in the successful conduct of political affairs. His Secretary in the Political or Foreign Department was Mr George Swinton, an officer of a fair reputation in his day, but who has since dropped into that respectable oblivion, which was the fate of most Indian politicals of the past generation.

Captain and Mrs. Burney were received with great favour by the Indian Government. The question then, as it has been ever since, was how to keep things quiet in Burmah. It was strongly suspected that the Court of Ava was at the bottom of the intrigues at Tavoy and Mergui, and Lord William Bentinck resolved on sending Captain Burney as British Resident at Ava. The prospect was not altogether a pleasant one. After the first Burmese war Mr Crawford had been sent on a commercial mission to Ava, but it did not prove a success. The Burmese officials hated as well as feared us, and they had a happy knack of mingling the most aggravating insolence with still more exasperating politeness, which would have excited hostile feelings in the bosom of a Quaker, without furnishing him with any tangible ground of complaint. In a word Mr Crawford did nothing at Ava, and was exceedingly glad to get away.

Such were the circumstances under which Captain Burney proceeded to Ava with his family *via* Rangoon accompanied by Mr Edwards as clerk. Mr Bedford, the apothecary who had done such good service at Tavoy, was promoted to the rank of civil surgeon, and proceeded with the party as surgeon to the residency.

The only halt of any importance was at Rangoon. In those days, January 1830, the inhabitants of Rangoon did not exceed ten thousand in number, or about one-tenth of the present population. Instead of forty or fifty large ships, which are now always to be seen in the river during the cold season, there were only some four or five country vessels, whilst a visit from a European ship was a comparatively rare occurrence. In the place of the present range of public offices on the strand, and the streets, the squares, and the pleasant green-fields and lanes, which make up Rangoon and its suburbs, there was nothing but a dense jungle surrounded by a marsh, through which a few villages of bamboo huts were alone visible. The place, however, taken collectively resembled a town, and was surrounded by a stockade after Burmese fashion, with great wooden gates turning on wheels and guarded by Burmese soldiers.

The most imposing house in all Rangoon was that of the Governor, known as the Myo Woon, who was Viceroy over the whole province of Pegu as far as Prome. His residence was built of planks, and was situated in a large compound with a well in it, and occupied a site somewhere in Sparks' Street, near where Mr Dickmann's house now stands. The Woon's compound was surrounded by a stockade with wooden gates like those of the town, at which guards of Burmese soldiers were always standing. But thirty or forty Burmese soldiers in green jackets, and queer brass helmets shaped like dragons, were always to be seen standing about the house and compound with muskets in their hands.

The only decent road in Rangoon was made of brick, and ran from the Myo Woon's house to the great Shwé Dagon Pagoda. There the Woon was often to be seen in great state going to and from the Pagoda. Sometimes he would be riding on a horse, but on occasions of festival or ceremony he would ride on an elephant, or be carried in an ornamented litter covered with gilding, and at all times he was accompanied by his wife, who was exceedingly handsome and clever, and very well known in those days. In these processions the lictors walked before the happy pair, carrying the well known rods, whilst some two or three hundred soldiers marched all round with their swords and muskets. Every Burmese who met the procession, and every European who could not get out of the way, was compelled to fall down in the mud until the great people had passed. In that golden age of Burmese rule there were only four or five European residents in all Rangoon, most of whom were old ship-captains, who had taken to themselves Burmese wives and settled down in the land of their adoption.

These captains are all dead now, but their memories still live in local tradition. There were Captain Roy, Captain Spears, Captain Trill, and Captain Crisp. Stories are still told of Crisp, who was a very irascible old chap always quarrelling with the Myo Woon about doing *skekhs* in the streets, an act of prostration which the independent old sailor could never be made to perform except by force, and he was more than once thrown into the native prison for his omission. Besides these captains there was a certain Mr S. who is said to have been a Scotchman, but he never associated with any Europeans in Rangoon, and according to the scandal of the day entertained several Burmese ladies after the manner of a Moimou prophet. Dr Judson, the Missionary, had left Rangoon and was dwelling at Mulmein. Dr Kincaid, also an American, had succeeded him at Rangoon, but shortly afterwards removed to Ava.

The Myo Woon was in every respect the sovereign of Pegu, excepting that he had to send a yearly tribute to Ava, and to make handsome presents to the King and favourite Queens. Any want of liberality in the latter direction was punished by a summons to Ava, and the appointment of a successor who was likely to prove more amenable to reason. Indeed throughout the net-work of officialism which covered Pegu, and which still covers the whole of Upper Burmah, the great principle was "squeeze." The court at Ava squeezed the Myo Woon at Pegu, the Myo Woon in his turn squeezed his subordinates, and so the squeezing process went on lower and lower until the people were the real sufferers. The Myo Woon had the power of life and death, and very often ordered the most cruel executions. He could also confiscate and fine at will, although to some extent he was bound by the Burmese laws of Manu. Presents to officials of money rice

milk, butter, eggs, gold-mounted dahs or swords, a fair slave or a fair daughter, was the rule throughout Burmah, and was the rule in Pegu until the introduction of British laws

But whilst the Myo Woon squeezed his subordinates, and was squeezed in his turn by the palace officials at Ava, he was not perhaps so happy as he might have been in his domestic relations. The grand state and ceremonial in which he moved, doubtless afforded him much satisfaction, but still he was ever in fear of being recalled to Ava, where the screw would be put on in addition to the squeeze. Again the Myo Woon who ruled Pegu in 1830, was in his turn ruled by his wife, a lady who was a Burmese by birth, but a terrible Tartar in disposition. If possible she exercised even a greater influence in Rangoon than her husband. She was virtually the Queen of Pegu, as well as mistress of the house. She was not, however, the first or principal wife of the Myo Woon. The first wife was kept at Ava, according to Ava fashion, as a hostage for the loyalty of her husband, and she is said to have been so extremely plain as to be of little use as a hostage. In other words the Myo Woon left the plain wife to lead a solitary existence at Ava and then proceeded to Rangoon and married the handsome Rangoon lady. But his connubial felicity went no farther. The Rangoon wife allowed no rivals near her throne. The Myo Woon is said to have sometimes sighed for a change after the manner of Burman Woons, but if so, he sighed in vain, for no stern matron in Europe could be more severe in keeping out followers than was the Rangoon lady in keeping out hand-maids. It may be added, however, that when the Myo Woon died some three or four years afterwards, his distracted wife proceeded to Ava and found consolation in the society of one of the pages of the palace. Forty years have passed away, and the old widow is still living at Mandalay, but whether the page is alive or not is at present unknown in Rangoon.

Here it may be remarked that the leading domestic institution which existed in Pegu prior to the introduction of British rule, was that of domestic slavery, and the fact is of some importance, as the institution still flourishes in Ava territory in all its patriarchal simplicity. The slaves male and female, were either prisoners taken in war from the Shan country or they were debtors who had no other way of meeting their liabilities than by serving as slaves. They were, however, really menial servants, and were generally treated very kindly, being in fact articles of property. A slave of either sex used to cost about a hundred rupees, and by paying up that amount a slave might generally obtain freedom. If the master of a house, or any of the sons of the house, chose to make a female slave his mistress the step was equivalent to emancipation. Any children that were born under such circumstances,

were born of mothers who had been made free, and not of mothers who continued to be slaves, as was formerly the case in the West Indies and Southern States of America. If a woman desired her freedom, she had only to win favour in the eyes of one of the male members of the family, whereas in the Southern States, if she won the favour of her master she often found herself in worse bondage than ever. The saddest feature of slavery in Burmah was connected with the Pagoda. Slaves were often given to the Pagoda to serve the priests or phoongyees as an act of merit. In the old days of persecution Christians were occasionally sent by the Burmese officials to be slaves of the Pagoda, and under Burmese rule there was no escape from their unhappy fate. It is melancholy to add that this slavery was hereditary, and the children continued to be slaves to the priests for generations. Under British rule this state of things has been abolished. Many slaves have left the Pagodas and returned to secular life, and those who remain in the monasteries do so of their own free-will—either from force of habit, such as that which rendered certain old prisoners reluctant to leave the Bastille, or because they imagine that they are obtaining religious merit by their pious servitude.

In one respect the Burmese and Europeans in Rangoon were apparently better off in 1830 than they are at the present day. A Burman could support his family on two or three rupees per mensem, whilst a Christian family indulging in flesh-meat, could live easily on thirty rupees per mensem. Rice varied from four to eight annas a basket containing fifty-six pounds. In the present day a similar basket costs two rupees eight annas, and three rupees. Capital fowls and ducks could be purchased at the rate of ten to the rupee. In the present day one moderately good fowl costs from twelve annas to a rupee, whilst a duck costs nearly the same. Labour was equally cheap, coolies could be procured for four annas a day, whilst at the present time the cost for coolies is from eight to twelve annas per diem, or double and treble what it is in India, and during the shipping season a labouring man in Rangoon can earn from twenty to thirty rupees per mensem. It should be observed, however, that under Burmese rule there were no coined rupees and annas, and lumps of silver or lead were employed as equivalent values. It is only within the last few years that the King of Ava has adopted the English custom of coining rupees.

Whilst Captain Burney was staying at Rangoon in the beginning of 1830, he naturally endeavoured to collect all the information he could respecting the people of Burmah, and in doing so he came in contact with an extraordinary individual who is forgotten now, but who was famous in his day under the name of Lanciagio. This man was Collector of Sea Customs at Rangoon.

for the King of Ava. He was of Spanish extraction, and was popularly said to have been a pirate in the old days, and not improbably he was one of those half-pirates, half-privateers who had rendered themselves notorious in the wars of the French Revolution and the first Empire, and who had deemed it expedient, after the battle of Waterloo, to pass the remainder of their lives in a remote territory like that of Burmah. Be this as it may, Lanciogo made his appearance at Rangoon about 1820, and found his way to Ava, where he rose in the favour of the King, and obtained the appointment of Collector of Customs at Rangoon. This post under native rule was deemed to be one of the first class. The greatest man in Rangoon was the Myo Woon, the second in importance was the Yey Woon, or Admiral of the Fleet, whilst immediately next the Admiral was the Sea Collector. It is curious to remark that even under native rule this post was usually held by a European. Thus at the beginning of the century, an Englishman, named Captain Rodgers was Collector at Rangoon. Rodgers was one of those eccentric individuals who threw off their religion and nationality, and became thoroughly oriental. He is forgotten now, but in 1830 he was remembered by very many. He wore the Burmese costume. He spoke nothing but Burmese. He embraced the three gems,—Buddha, the Law, and the Assembly, and went as regularly to the Shwé Dagon Pagoda to say his prayers and offer flowers and wax candles to Gotama, as the great Myo Woon himself. He married a first wife, and had several inferior wives, after the manner of a Burmese official of high rank, and as ladies in Burmah are not confined in a *zanána*, the girls might be seen squatting about in the old man's compound, eating, smoking or chewing betel, without the slightest idea that either he or they were departing from the strictest rules of propriety. Lanciogo was a man of a somewhat different stamp. His domestic arrangements were much the same as those of Rodgers, and if possible he was even more partial to the fair sex, but nothing could induce him to abandon his European costume, or to leave the Roman Catholic Church to worship in the temple of Rimmon.

Lanciogo's opinion of the people amongst whom he had cast his lot was not very flattering, but it was uncommonly near the truth. "The Burmese," he said, "are like monkeys. Keep a rattan in your hand, and they will crouch obediently before you. Lay aside the rattan, and they will begin to grin, and very soon will begin to scratch and bite." This observation, however, is only of partial application. The people in general are a kind and courteous race, provided they are treated with consideration and civility.

Three or four years after Captain Burney's visit to Rangoon in 1830, Lanciogo lost his appointment, and was recalled to

Ava, whilst Mr Camaratta was appointed Collector of Sea Customs in his room Lanciago was terribly cut up at being deprived of his post, and is said to have died shortly afterwards of the disappointment and loss of income and position

From Rangoon to Ava is about seven hundred miles up the river Irawádi The details of the old voyage made by Captain Burney to Ava are forgotten now, but they can easily be imagined The people lining the banks at every station, to see the Kullahs, and gaze with wondering eyes on the steamer and its paddle-wheels. Pompous officials with a nondescript following, carrying betel boxes and cheroots At Prom the steamer was compelled to return, and Captain Burney and party were thus obliged to proceed in boats to Ava

The capital of the old Burman empire was built in much the same style as the modern capital at Mandalay A huge palace of wood and brick painted white and red, with halls and pillars covered with carving and gilding Another large wooden building in the same area, which forms both a Senate House and High Court A number of separate offices constructed of bamboo and matting, —arsenals, magazines, and royal treasury All these structures were contained in a large area, nearly a mile square, peopled with soldiers and slaves, and officials with their followers Round the whole was an immense wall and gates Outside the palace-wall was the city with its own walls, gates and drawbridges, and it in its turn was surrounded with rude suburbs The roads were simply rough broad pathways, with such fearfully deep ruts that no carriages could drive along them except bullock carts Along these so-called roads, princes and officials proceeded on elephants and ponies, or in gilded litters, whilst on the river Irawádi which flows past Ava, was to be seen a fleet of large Burmese war boats, covered with rich gilding and decorated with pretty carvings

Captain Burney was provided with a brick house in the suburbs, while smaller buildings in the same compound were made over for the use of Mr Edwards, the head clerk, and Dr Bedford, the doctor Provisions of all kinds were supplied to Captain Burney and his suite by the King, and nobody in Ava was allowed to take any money from the resident and his officers But before dwelling further upon these particulars, it will be necessary to take a brief glance at the palace and court of the reigning sovereign

Phagyu-dau was at that time King of Ava, and had reigned ever since 1819 His immediate predecessor was Bhodra-pra who had ascended the throne in 1781 Bhodra-pra is the most celebrated of all the Kings of Ava, and perhaps a few stories which have been preserved respecting him may not be out of place

He was a conqueror and a tyrant, and at the same time a monster of cruelty sensuality and pride. His accession to the throne had been followed by conspiracies and rebellions, and he revenged himself by wholesale executions. In one village in particular, he caused the whole of the inhabitants, including priests and women, children and old people, to be burnt alive in one vast holocaust upon an immense pile of wood. Subsequently he conquered Arakán and Assam, and exercised suzerainty over Manipur and the Shan States. His zanána was crowded with young women from all parts of the empire. Every governor and feudatory prince was expected to send his fairest daughter or sister to serve as an attendant at the palace, with the chance of attracting the eyes of the King and being promoted to the rank of an inferior Queen. This rule was duly observed by the Shan Chiefs and the Rájás of Manipur and Assam, but the relatives of these high personages were not expected to serve as attendants, but were at once promoted to the rank of Queens. Again if any subject heard that the rumours of the beauty of his daughter had reached the ears of royalty, he was at once puffed out with pride, and gladly sent the girl as an offering to the Golden Foot.

The zanána of an oriental sovereign is always a subject of interest to European readers from its being altogether foreign to European ideas, but it is only by the most sedulous enquiry, that it is possible to obtain any real and authentic details respecting the zanána of the Kings of Ava. The royal zanána may be generally divided into three ranks or classes, namely —

- (1) The four Queens.
- (2) The inferior Queens
- (3) The Apyoo-dau, or Royal Virgins

On ascending the throne Bhodra-pra married one of his half-sisters, according to the old fashion of Buddhist sovereigns. This is a strange custom amongst Buddhist Kings. The sister-wife is treated as the first and principal Queen. She must be a sister by the father only, but not by the mother. The origin of this custom is obscure. Glimpses of it appear in old Persian history and especially in the annals of the later Kings of Egypt known as the Ptolemies. The Buddhists themselves refer it to an old tradition which may be related here. In ancient times there was a King in Hindústán, who sought to please a young and favourite Queen by expelling all his elder children from the kingdom, and by nominating a son by his favourite to succeed him on the throne. Accordingly the elder children, including four brothers and five sisters, went away into the jungle, and being fearful of degrading themselves by an alliance with an inferior family, determined to marry each other. With this view they appointed the elder sister to be queen-mother, doomed to lead a life of celibacy, and then

each of the four brothers took a sister-wife who was not born of his own mother, and by these means they were supposed to preserve the purity of their race. This arrangement subsequently met with the warmest approval, and consequently has been followed by the royal race of Sákya down to the present day. Every King of Ava marries a half-sister as his first wife, and she is known as the middle queen, because her apartments are in the centre of the palace.

But every King of Ava has four queens who are called, from some old Vaidik idea, after the four points of the compass. The first or middle queen is more or less identified as the queen of the east. The three others are the queens of the north, the south, and the west. These collectively are the four Queens.

The class of inferior Queens is recruited from that of the Royal Virgins. It has already been explained how maiden sisters and daughters are sent to the palace to serve the queens. The King can raise any of these virgins to the rank of an inferior queen, and there is no one to say him nay. From the moment this is done, the fortunate damsel ceases to be an attendant, and is placed in a separate apartment, with female attendants of her own. The Royal Virgins and the inferior queens thus present a remarkable resemblance to the institution known as the Virgins of the Sun, which formerly existed amongst the Incas or old kings of Peru. It should be added that in certain respects the vices of oriental monarchs were never to be found in the Court of Ava. No wife was taken from her husband against her will. No girl was taken into the *zanána* before she had attained maturity. None of those criminal outrages which but too often disgrace Musalmán Courts, were to be found in the palace of a Buddhist sovereign.

At every change in the succession, a revolution naturally takes place in the royal *zanána*. In the first instance the new King appoints separate apartments for his own mother, who is hence forth treated with great respect as the Queen-mother, and is supposed to lead a life of celibacy. He then marries a half-sister as the principal Queen, and selects such other ladies of the *zanána* of his predecessor as please his taste, and the remainder are then turned out of the palace and permitted to go wherever they please. They generally retire to their respective families, but they are at full liberty to marry again after the genial fashion which prevails amongst Burmese.

Bhodra-pra, son of Alompra the hunter, ascended the throne after a fearful series of massacres, which is horrible to contemplate. He deposed his predecessor, and put him to death after what is called the royal fashion, that is, his neck was broken, and his body was then thrust into a red sack and cast in the

river Irawádi Bhodra-pra then ordered all the queens of the dead man to be burnt alive with their children in their arms. Having so done, he filled his zanána in the manner already described. Bhodra-pra reigned from 1781 to 1819. His career on the throne thus extended over nearly forty years.

There was one strange event in the life of Bhodra-pra which is curiously illustrative of Burmese ideas. In his later years he was so puffed up with arrogance and pride, that he aspired to the rank of deity, and announced himself to be another Buddha. To carry out this idea he abandoned his palace and zanána, and took up his abode in a Buddhist monastery. The priests, however, would not accept his pretensions, and after a while he grew tired of a life of celibacy, and ultimately returned to his palace, and resumed the reins of power, and plunged again into sensual indulgences over which it is as well to draw a veil.

Bhodra-pra died in 1819. He left behind him the reputation of a great sovereign according to Burmese ideas, but a terrible legacy of arrogance and presumption to his successor. Bhodra-pra had on more than one occasion shown his contempt for the British Government, and had not only committed aggressions on British territory, but threatened to invade Bengal.

Phagye-dau, grandson of Bhodra-pra, succeeded to the throne of Ava, and reigned from 1817 to 1839. The arrogance of the Burmese officials, and aggressions on British territory, culminated in the first Burmese war of 1824, which terminated in the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim by the British Government, and led to the missions of Mr Crawford and Captain Burney. Phagye-dau was henceforth a morose and melancholy man. He never ceased to mourn the loss of territory, and treated the English with that mixture of insolence and politeness which used to be the leading characteristic of Burmese diplomacy. Captain Burney and suite, as already stated, were duly provided with houses. They were also daily supplied gratis with mutton, fish, fowls, ducks and game, but beef as usual was never sent, and indeed the slaughter of a bullock is as criminal in Ava as in Ráipútána. Milk, butter, bread and rice were furnished *ad libitum*. Conveyances were also provided, such as a couple of elephants and three or four ponies. Captain Burney could not help this state of things, for every man in the bazaar was under strict orders not to sell anything to the Resident, or to his servants, and if any one had disobeyed this order he would probably have been put to death, and all his property confiscated. But when Lord William Bentinck heard of these supplies of provisions by the palace to the Resident, he was aghast at the enormity. In 1834 Captain and Major Burney was ordered to refuse all such favours for the future, and the king was requested to refrain from sending them any more to the Residency.

Major Burney did his best to obey these orders, and no doubt Lord William Bentinck thought that his instructions were strictly attended to, and so they were, as far as fish, flesh and fowl were concerned, but there was a difficulty respecting the butter and milk, and Major Burney settled the matter by a compromise. Henceforth these articles were daily supplied from the palace, and indeed were indispensable for the children, and as the matter was never officially reported to the Government of India, it was probably never suspected by Lord William Bentinck that the little Burneys buttered their bread at the expense of the Golden Foot.

In one important respect Phagye dau proved a very different man to Bhodra-pa. He had no polygamous tendencies. His affections were centered on one lady, who fascinated him so completely that she went by the name of "the Sorceress." This Queen had risen through the usual stages. She was the daughter of a Jailer, and being exceedingly beautiful, her father had taken her to the palace to be one of the Royal Virgins, in the hope that she might attract the attention of the King, and use her influence to promote the interests of her family. These expectations were soon realised. The Royal Virgin was promoted to the couch of her sovereign, and rapidly gained a complete mastery over him, and obtained the post of Minister for her brother. Meantime Phagye-dau grew more and more melancholy, and the Sorceress and her brother undertook the entire administration of the empire, and for a long while there was no one to oppose them.

The elevation of the Sorceress may have been positively beneficial to the State, for she was one of those keen far-seeing women who are born to rule. But it had an unhappy effect upon the *zanana*. The other Queens and the Royal Virgins also, being neglected by the King, naturally thought a good deal about the Royal pages. The *zanána* was strictly guarded by eunuchs, and so long as the King remained at his capital, it was next to impossible that any one should go astray. But bolts and bars are not always proof against bribes, and intrigues were occasionally carried on that were highly reprehensible. Then again, until a very late period, it was the custom of the King to make occasional progresses through his dominions, accompanied by his Queens and their attendants, and under such circumstances there is a laxity of *zanána* discipline, which is often attended with dangerous consequences. When such an affair was discovered there was no mercy. The offending lover was promptly taken outside the palace and decapitated. His head was spiked to the ground for three days, during which the body lay exposed, and then the remains were quietly buried. Mr Edwards has seen the heads of several unfortunate lovers in this condition. What became of the frail beauty was not always certain. Women are not decapitated in

Burmah, but are beaten on the neck with clubs until they are dead. This work is generally performed in secrecy within the *zanana* walls. Sometimes, however, the guilty women are simply marked in the face and turned out of the palace, on which they almost invariably take refuge in a monastery. It was also whispered that some of the eunuchs were regular impostors, but sufficient has been said to indicate the state of the *zanana* in Phagye-dau's time.

Perhaps no one was so disgusted at the aspect of affairs as Tharawadi, the brother of Phagye-dau, who has already been mentioned. Tharawadi was furious at the influence exercised by the Sorceress, and made no secret of his dissatisfaction. As regards the *zanana* of the King he was sublimely contemptuous. He remarked in the presence of Mr Edwards that a thousand infants had been buried beneath the palace, without the knowledge of Phagye-dau. He was headstrong and imperious, and as arrogant as Bhodra-pa, and both Phagye-dau and the Sorceress had good reason to fear him. It was at this juncture that Phagye-dau began to take Major Burney into his confidence, and to look to the English Resident for advice. Indeed during the last few years of the reign, Major Burney exercised a very considerable influence at the Court of Ava, and by his counsel, which was implicitly followed, succeeded in maintaining the public tranquillity.

At length in 1837 matters reached a climax. Tharawadi was so called after the district of Tharawadi in Pegu, and here he maintained a band of dangerous dacoits, who were the terror of all the country round. A few years after the death of Tharawadi, the district which gave him his name passed into the hands of the British Government, together with the remaining portions of Pegu, and it was not until some years after the annexation that the British authorities finally put an end to these gangs of cruel robbers. However, to return to the Prince. In 1837 Tharawadi fled from the capital out of fear of the machinations of the Sorceress and her brother, and it was soon reported that he had broken out into open rebellion, and had commenced marching a large army of insurgents towards the city of Ava.

Meantime the capital was in the greatest possible commotion. The sister of Tharawadi was put in irons and placed in the palace jail by the order of the Sorceress and her brother, but Major Burney procured an order for her release and Mr Edwards was sent to carry it out. The poor lady was accordingly freed from her chains, but she thought it was for the purpose of being executed, and she burst into loud shrieks and screams, and implored Mr Edwards to save her. She was, however, soon re-assured, and conducted, trembling with emotion, to her own house in the city. All this while Tharawadi was advancing, and both the city and palace

were filled with alarm. All the Armenian and Mughul traders in Ava, to the number of fifty families, took refuge in the compound of the British Residency, which was surrounded by a stockade.

Six Missionaries, who resided at Ava, and who all belonged to the American Baptist persuasion, also took refuge with their families in the same compound. Major Burney and Mr Edwards went out to meet Tharawadi as the Resident was anxious to bring about some mediation, but the task was hopeless. Tharawadi received them in a friendly manner, and assured Major Burney that not a soul in the Residency should be injured, but he was resolutely bent on the capture and sack of Ava. At last a compromise was effected. Tharawadi solemnly pledged himself not to plunder the capital, and not to put to death either the King, or any of his Ministers, provided the city were surrendered to him. Major Burney accepted their assurances, and on the strength of them induced the Burmese Government to surrender.

Tharawadi then entered Ava and spared the capital according to his promise. He placed the half-insane Phagye-dau into confinement and shortly afterwards announced that the King had abdicated the throne in his favour. The Sorceress was placed in the common jail and strangled. The Ministers, whose lives Tharawadi had engaged to spare, were compelled to work in chains like criminals upon the public roads. Such are the not unfrequent vicissitudes of Asiatic statesmen. Yesterday worshipped as the sovereign deity, to-day reduced to the condition of the meanest slave. The British Government has never acted thus. Princes who have lost their thrones from their vile oppressions or utter incapacity, have only been deprived of their power of working mischief, but have otherwise been treated with the utmost consideration, and provided for by liberal pensions.

About this time, namely in 1837, an incident occurred which illustrates the disorderly state of affairs. Shortly before the disturbances broke out, Dr Bayfield, who had been appointed Assistant to the Resident at Ava, had proceeded to Bhamo, in company with the Rev Mr Kincaid, an American Missionary, to settle some frontier disputes which had broken out with the chiefs of the Kakhyen Hills. Mr Kincaid, however returned to Ava by himself, and on the way fell into the hands of a band of robbers, who plundered him of everything he possessed, stripped him to his nethermost garment, and then favoured him with a round dozen, and finally dismissed him with the comforting assurance that if they ever caught him again they would most certainly cut off his head. The unfortunate Missionary hurried off into the jungle, and found refuge in the neighbourhood of a Buddhist monastery, where he obtained a little rice every day from the priests, and moreover procured one of their yellow garments to cover him.

In this wretched plight half-starved and unshaven, he made his appearance some days afterwards in the Residency compound at Ava, but unfortunately, when he explained who he was, and naturally expected a little sympathy, he was hailed with a roar of laughter. Indeed, his woe-begone countenance and Phoongyee garb are said to have been so intensely ludicrous that a brother Missionary, and even his own wife, joined in the merriment. His exasperation, whilst still in the monkish yellow gown, must have been still more amusing. However, the unfortunate man was said to have laughed most unbecomingly some years previously, at hearing that poor Mrs Judson had been compelled to wear a Burmese petticoat at Ava,—a garment which, to say the least of it, is somewhat peculiar in style, so perhaps the reception he met with in the yellow gown was a just retribution for his own ill-timed mirth in former days. Of course he carried his complaint to Tharawadi, who declined to investigate the matter, but made him a present of six thousand rupees.

Shortly after the accession of Tharawadi, Major Burney discovered that the solemn pledge which had been given, that the lives of the Ministers would be spared, was being deliberately broken. The unhappy officials were being taken to the palace by one or two at a time, and quietly put to death. As they had been induced to surrender by the promise of Major Burney that their lives would not be taken, the Resident was naturally most angry, and warmly remonstrated with Tharawadi. The King however, had grown touchy at any interference, and turned a deaf ear to all representations. He was willing that Major Burney should continue to reside at Ava as a friend, but he would not stoop to his dictations as a British Resident. Major Burney accordingly found himself in a false position, and deemed it due to the national honour to retire from his post. He therefore left Ava with his family and suite in native boats, and at length arrived at Rangoon, whence he ultimately made his way to Calcutta.

Whether Major Burney was right or not in thus abandoning his post is a question which was much discussed in the past generation. It seems to have been a political mistake, from having been carried out without a sufficient consideration of what might be the exigencies of imperial policy in other parts of the empire. The Burmese war of 1824 had been most unpopular in England, and it was the obvious duty of a Political Officer to avoid any measure which was at all calculated to precipitate collision. Again the very secrecy adopted by Tharawadi in putting the deposed Ministers to death, showed that he was anxious to keep on good terms with the British Government, and possibly Major Burney might have at least waited for instructions from the Government of India before taking such a decisive course as that of leaving Ava.

Moreover, the measure not only failed to have a good effect upon Tharawadi, but caused a breach between the two Governments. Tharawadi became more arrogant than ever. He publicly put all the surviving Ministers to death, and from that moment treated the English with disdain and contumely.

But whether the step taken by Major Burney was right or wrong, he certainly returned to Calcutta at a most unfortunate crisis. Lord Auckland was Governor-General and Sir William Mac-Naghten was Foreign Secretary. The expressed policy of the British Government was peace. There had been profound peace during the administration of Lord William Bentinck. His successor Lord Auckland had pledged himself to the Court of Directors before leaving England, that he would do his best to maintain peace. It is true that dark clouds were already looming beyond the north-western frontier, which were to culminate in the Afghan war, and might bring the Cossack and the Sepoy into collision on the banks of the Oxus. But this only made matters worse. The war which threatened would be at the greatest possible distance from Ava, and it was of the highest importance that the Government of India should concentrate all its energies in the direction of the Indus. Such was the state of affairs when Major Burney reported at Calcutta that he had withdrawn from the Ava Residency. Lord Auckland was naturally very angry. The British Government had been compromised with a petty power for a mere point of honour, which concerned Tharawadi alone, and could scarcely be converted into a *casus belli*. Major Burney, however, seems to have been somewhat harshly treated. He was removed from his post, and it is painful to add that he never recovered the blow. He served a few years longer, but like Major Todd, who was sent back to his regiment for having prematurely abandoned Herat, he appeared half broken hearted, ultimately he died on his way to England.

After the departure of Major Burney, King Tharawadi became more puffed up than ever with pride and arrogance. The Government of India endeavoured to renew political relations with Ava by sending Colonel Benson as British representative to his court, but the Mission turned out a total failure. No well-built dwelling house was furnished for a Residency, but only a temporary structure of bamboos and matting. Colonel Benson was simply isolated and harassed, until at last he was attacked with sickness, and in 1839 compelled to leave the Residency in charge of Captain McLeod.

Mr Edwards accompanied both officers, and was the principal medium of communication between the Residency and the palace. His reminiscences of this period are not very pleasing, for Tharawadi was a cruel sovereign, and Mr Edwards has seen

officials put to an agonising death for the most trivial offences Captain McLeod retired in 1840. The principal event which occurred during the incumbency of this officer was the great earthquake which shook the capital to ruins and killed some ten thousand people in the city alone. Captain McLeod and Mr Edwards were saved by the mere fact that they were sleeping in a shed of bamboo matting. The shock occurred in the middle of the night. The sepoy guards were in a fearful state of alarm, some were kneeling and praying, whilst others were falling in and preparing to fight for their lives. The sight of the destruction in the city next morning is described as something very horrible. The wounded, the dying, and the dead were lying about in all directions, and there were neither doctors nor nurses to see after them. Some were crying and moaning, whilst those who had escaped unhurt were weeping and wailing over those who had fallen.

After the return of Captain McLeod in 1840, no further efforts were made to establish a Resident at the Court of Ava. The attention of the Government of India was sufficiently absorbed by the course of events in Afghanistan, far away beyond the dominions of Ranjít Singh, and Sir William Mac Naghten, the Foreign Secretary, had for some time filled the post of Resident at Kabul. So Buimah was left to drift. About 1841, when affairs were becoming serious in Afghanistan, Tharawadi marched an army to Rangoon, announcing in his pompous way that he was about to drive the English out of Arakan and Tenasserim, but it proved to be all bounce. He remembered too well the lesson he had learnt from the first Burmese war, and he confined his operations to casting one of the big bells in the Shwé Dagon Pagoda.

Meantime, whilst Tharawadi treated all foreigners with imperious disdain, his manners and bearing were regal and dignified in public, and to this day it is still said by those who remember him that he was every inch a King. He indulged in wine and spirits, but only in the strictest privacy. He filled his zanána with all the beauties of the kingdom, but his word was law, and there were few amours between the pages and the ladies of the palace during his reign. The King's own sister, a genial but somewhat elderly lady of fifty five, was discovered in an intrigue with an official, but her paramour was promptly put to death, and nothing more was heard of the matter. She died some two or three years afterwards.

Tharawadi's passion for the fair sex was notorious, and the different Woons or Governors were ever ready to win his favour through the medium of some attractive damsel. In those days there was a well-known Armenian gentleman residing at Rangoon, who was one of the leading merchants of the place. He had three charming daughters, and the Myo Woon got a hint

from the Court that he would do well to send one of these young ladies to serve in the palace as a Royal Virgin, with a very early prospect of promotion to a higher grade. The suggestion was accordingly whispered to the father, and it seems to have been expected that he would at once have complied with so flattering an offer. Strange to say he thought differently and promptly sent his daughters to Calcutta, on the plea of having them educated. Of course there was not the slightest expression of disappointment on the part of the Myo Woon, as the honour which would have been conferred on the family was so great, as to render it impossible that anything but accident should have led to its being declined. One of the ladies subsequently married a Bengal civilian, who survived her, and only died a few years ago.

A few years afterwards King Tharawadi degenerated into a drunkard and lunatic, and he would occasionally shoot or stab a Minister or favourite with his own hands in one of his paroxysms of rage. At last in 1845 the palace officials were so thoroughly frightened at his violent attacks upon themselves, and his wholesale executions, that they were driven by the instinct of self-preservation to put him to death. As an illustration of the domestic felicity of the Kings of Ava, it may be added that one of his favourite Queens was living until a comparatively recent period in the closest intimacy with a Chinaman at Rangoon.

Here the reminiscences must end. Mr Edwards accompanied the Missions of 1855, 1862, 1866 and 1867, but these events are too recent to be made the subject of personal gossip. Tharawadi was succeeded by Pagan men who brought on the second Burmese war of 1852, and Pagan men, was in his turn succeeded by his present Majesty, Meng-lon, who has entered into friendly alliance with the British Government. Long may he reign!

Mr Edwards has now retired on the pension which he has justly earned by his long and meritorious services, and we trust that he may live to enjoy it for many years to come. There is not a man under whom he has served during the lengthy period of fifty years, who has not had a good word to say for this most intelligent, assiduous, and unassuming official.

J TALBOYS WHEELER.

ART VIII—THE BENGAL COMMISSARIAT

PART I

THE supply of food and transport to troops in time of peace and war—or, in a word, of all the material requisites comprised in the modern phrase ‘Commissariat’—presents so important a subject for inquiry, that the writer of the present article has often felt surprise that it should have engaged so little public attention. It is equally important, whether viewed from an economic point, or considered as having ever been intimately associated with the content or discontent, with the success or failure in the field, of all armies, from the days when the Hebrew host demanded quail in the desert, and sighed after the flesh-pots of Egypt, to the present time when in the recent campaign, the failure of the French in this great essential early proved disastrous to their cause. In fine, whatever of apology this article may need in other respects, the writer feels assured that in the task before him, he has consulted the primary object of all writing, in selecting a subject of at least considerable public utility.

The Bengal Commissariat is deservedly considered second to none in the world and superior to most, but it should be remembered that it has enjoyed special advantages, in having had for upwards of a century a constant field for its labours in a country, which may be described as a vast military camp, or *congeries* of camps. Did time and space permit, a profitable comparison might be made between the system of the Bengal Commissariat, and those of other countries, but it is proposed to reserve this for a future article, and to restrict the present investigation to that of the Bengal system itself.

The subject fitly divides itself into two main heads—*Personnel* and *Matériel*. Under the head *Personnel* will be considered all that relates to the administrative and executive establishments of the department, their *morale* and efficiency, while under the head *Matériel*, the different services, and economy of supply, will be briefly reviewed. In conclusion a prospective view will be taken of departmental duties in connexion with the new order of things, and the altered conditions of service certain to arise from the extension of railroads and the consequent re-distribution of garrisons.

PERSONNEL—The establishment of superior officers of the Commissariat Department consists of—

1	Commissary General			
3	Deputies Commissary General			
4	Assistants	do	do	1st class
4	do	do	do	2nd do
6	Deputy Assistants	Commissary General		1st do.
6	do,	do	do	2nd do
12	Sub Assistants	Commissary General		1st do
8	do	do	do	2nd do
8	do	do	do	3rd do

Total, 52 Officers.

A thing that must at once strike attention in perusing the above list is the verbose and cumbrous, if not indeed ridiculous, denominations given to the officers of the different grades. The functions of the Commissary General and of his three deputies are distinct and *quasi-administrative*, whilst those of the other officers are purely executive. This fact itself may suggest a suitable change in appellatives. But this merely *par parenthèse*. To proceed to more important matters.

The Commissary General—As the administrative head of one of the largest disbursing Departments of the State, the Commissary General has duties sufficiently onerous and responsible in time of peace, whilst in time of war his anxieties are great and his prudence and forethought are severely taxed. Such being the case, the officer filling this important post should have special qualifications, and, to be really efficient, must enjoy in a special degree the confidence of Government, whose delegate he really is. His selection for office, his position, and remuneration should be relatively fixed. Let these points be separately considered.

Appointment of Commissary General—One of the greatest evils of any seniority system of promotion is, that the senior on the list may often not be the fittest man for promotion, whilst the self-evident remedy for this, namely, free selection, opens the door to jobbery, &c. These arguments sound plausible but do not bear careful investigation. In the first place, if the general mediocrity of talent amongst all educated persons be considered, the necessity for selection will rarely occur except for the higher and more important posts. For these last, free selection should be insisted on however ruthlessly individual interests may be thereby affected. In order to guard against jobbery as far as possible, the selection should never rest with an individual, but with a council of at least three or more disinterested electors. These remarks have peculiar significance in reference to the selection of an officer to fill the post of Commissary General. It has often been canvassed whether it is not expedient that the appointment of Commissary General should be bestowed on an officer, who has had no previous connection with the Department, and doubtless there are advantages in such a proposal. Departmental officers

who have worked for years in the same groove are apt to be difficult to move from that groove, and less readily comprehend the necessity for change, albeit circumstances may imperatively call for it. Again a Commissary General, who has worked his way up through the different grades, may have associations in the Department, which on occasion may render him purblind to Government interest. For this very reason, though perhaps disliking the idea of supersession, most officers of the Department would prefer to work under an outsider. On the other hand, it is to be said that the appointment of an outsider involves the supersession of many deserving officers of the Department, whose promotion is already too tardy. But let the arguments *pro* and *con* be what they may, the broad principle should be closely followed, that the fittest man should hold office, whether he be found in or out of the Department. Moreover, neither should the senior officer of the Department be appointed, simply because he happens to be senior, nor should all the officers of the Department be superseded by an outsider, merely because the senior officer is not competent. It is suggested that when a vacancy occurs, the names of the first five senior officers should be submitted as candidates for appointment, and failing selection from these, and only failing selection from these, should an outsider be nominated.

Position of Commissary General—The Commissary General in the Indian as well as in the British Service, holds the relative rank of Major-General. Why should he not be permitted to wear and use the rank? In other words, in the Indian service being a military officer, why should he not be entitled to style himself, and be styled a Major-General? The rank might be made local, and *ex-officio* merely, in the same manner that local rank is accorded to officers holding brigade commands in India. The rank would unquestionably strengthen the Commissary General's position, and would give him greater weight and respect with others as well as with his own officers. At present there are many junior officers of the department holding superior military rank to the Commissary General. This is an anomaly existing, it is believed, in no other military service in the world. Again, the Commissary General is forced to vacate his appointment on attaining the rank of Major-General in the army. The object is not quite apparent. If it be deemed necessary that such opportunity should be afforded of compelling an officer to retire from an onerous position before becoming effete and superannuated, this aim would be better reached by limiting the tenure of office to five years, with the option reserved to Government of re-election for a further term in very special cases. As it stands, many able officers who have attained the rank of Major-General, and are waiting hopelessly for divisional commands, are debarred

from holding the office. This should not be—and it may be added that this remark has equal pertinence in reference to the appointments of Adjutant General and Quarter-Master General.

But the authority of the Commissary General received its rudest shock through the officious interference with his functions by the the so-called Military Finance Department of 1859. Armed with full power, and with all the wish to use the shears unsparingly, this Commission might have initiated great and radical changes of a really salutary character in the department. Unfortunately, whether from ignorance, or from lack of real administrative capacity, or from both causes, it effected no permanent good whatever. On the contrary, actuated apparently by the desire of retaining office, and drawing their very high salaries for as long a period as possible, its members adopted the expedient of goading every official they were brought into contact with into an irritating and voluminous correspondence, having no higher aim than a huckstering penny-wise and pound-foolish economy, which nearly ruined the efficiency of the Commissariat Department, and which has had since to be heavily paid for. On the other hand, the Head of the Department has been left so trammelled and bound over hand-and-foot to the Control Department, as to render him powerless for good or evil. Responsible for the economical as well as the efficient working of his department, the Commissary General has at present so many obstacles in the path of his duties that no one but a man of genius could hope to succeed in the Sisyphus-like task of removing them. No wonder, then, if the post is now deemed best fitted to an officer of limited capacity and due obsequiousness.

“Controlled” and hampered as the Commissary General assuredly is in many respects, there is still one point in which he exercises a prerogative quite unlimited, *viz*, in the transfer and posting of executive Commissariat officers. It is absolutely necessary that he should have the power of making transfers and postings as the exigencies of the service may demand, but he should be compelled to shew the necessity in each case in an immediate report to Government. Indeed, whenever time admits, the sanction of Government should be obtained prior to the transfers being made. As matters at present stand, it is to be feared that it may often happen that officers are moved about in the most capricious manner to gratify the petty malice and spite of some unconscionable jack-in-office of a Commissary General, and this sometimes at considerable needless expense to Government. It can readily be imagined, too, how much of heart-burning to officers, and mischief to the public service, may be caused through postings being made according to the partiality and favouritism of an, in this respect, irresponsible Commissary General, rather than according to the standing, experience, and merit of the officers themselves. A glance at the present disposi-

tion of the officers of the Department will serve to verify these observations. But more of this, and the remedy for it, in the proper place.

Remuneration of Commissary General—The salary of the Commissary General is now Rs 2,500 a month, consolidated. Formerly it was Rs 3,000. This is another debt of gratitude the Department owe to the Military Finance Department aforesaid, and like most other reductions made by that Department, it is injudicious if not indeed unjust. Injudicious, as the difference in salary deters many from accepting office, and because it lowers the position of the Commissary General, especially in this country, where the importance of the office is judged of by the fatness of the salary attached to it. Unjust—because, judged by the importance of the duties and responsibilities, the larger salary was not excessive. The Adjutant-General, with responsibility merely reflected from the Commander-in-Chief, and with duties certainly less laborious, draws Rs 3,000 a month. Unjust, as it dwarfs the high prize which the officers of the Department have been looking forward to through long years of toil. After all, what guarantee have they that the salary will not be further reduced at the whim of some other like Department or Commission?

Deputies Commissary General—There are three Deputies Commissary General, each drawing a staff salary of Rs 1,000 a month, in addition to the Staff Corps pay of their rank besides an allowance of Rs 90 a month for office rent. Their office establishments cost Rs 2164 per mensem. These officers are supposed to exercise a general supervision and control over the circle of executives committed to their charge. They have the power of sanctioning expenditure extraordinary within a limit of Rs 500. Each executive under their supervision is inspected once annually, and a report sent to the Commissary General. These duties to the unmitigated would appear sufficiently onerous and responsible, but in reality are merely perfunctory or supererogatory. The Deputies Commissary General have no accounts to keep, nor are they responsible for the efficiency of the executives under their control. The office was erected with the view of relieving the Commissary General of some portion of the work, but in reality it is one of obstructiveness and circumlocution. All important questions have still to find their way to the Commissary General's office, and the consequence of employing the Deputy Commissary General's office as a medium of communication is, that all documents have to be furnished in duplicate and triplicate, so as to provide records for that office which, as far as the public service benefits, are valuable as curl-papers—nothing more. The fact is, no channel of communication is needed between Executive

Commissariat Officers and the Head of the Department. A good deal might be said, too, against the system which permits a Deputy Commissary General to authorise expenditure extraordinary not exceeding in each transaction Rs 500, and one can readily suppose that some pretty heavy bills might be run up with accumulated items, none exceeding Rs 500, but the tax-paying public need feel no alarm, for, in effect, the Deputy Commissary General have far too befitting notions of *otium cum dig* to ever dream of passing any charge but for the most ordinary expenditure, wisely preferring to submit all extraordinary items, whether they exceed Rs 500 or not, for decision of the Commissary General. The annual inspection of executive officers by the Deputy Commissary General is calculated to be very beneficial, but through the perfunctory manner in which this duty is carried out, it becomes little better than a farce. A long and set list of questions is propounded to be answered at leisure in writing by the Executive Commissariat Officer—the godowns and ration stands are visited—a few calls on the station military authorities are paid. The Deputy Commissary General declares himself satisfied after two days' stay, the usual report is made to the Head of the Department, and there is an end of the matter. Obviously, the opportunity might be turned to better account, and closer and more searching investigation made. In short there is no need of three Deputies, one would give all the assistance required by the Commissary General. He should receive a salary of Rs 1200 staff, in addition to his military pay as of old, and should be attached to the Commissary General's own office. A great saving would thus be effected, and there would be much less friction in the work than at present.

Executive Commissariat Officers—As a good Commissariat system must ever be considered the very backbone of an army, more especially of an English one, so in like manner may Executive Commissariat Officers be deemed its very marrow and life. Certain it is that the Government of India owes a deep debt of gratitude to its Executive Commissariat Officers, whose untiring energy, zeal and integrity have achieved so much for its armies in all situations, while at the same time they have conscientiously protected the public purse through the many temptations besetting them. That there are great temptations in the position is to state that there is the greater honour and praise in the fact that so very few have ignobly yielded to them. Government, in the matter of its dealings with officers of the Commissariat Department, has hitherto sown liberally and wisely, and has reaped accordingly. By appointing Commissioned Officers of recognised position, by paying them liberally, and by rewarding their efforts consistently, it has induced that morale and devotion to its interests, which have made the Department all that it is—viz, the best and least venal in the world.

But let it take warning. Much has been done since the mutiny to weaken that *morale* and devotion, both by curtailment of position and by reduction of pay, as also by taking away from the departmental officers the distinctive dress of the staff. The last appears a small matter, but is not so in reality, half the enthusiasm displayed in England for the Volunteer service may be ascribed to a not unnatural vanity panting to appear in "war-paint." True it is that the officers of the Commissariat Department cannot have any lustre reflected on them by wearing the dress of the general staff, but they would be content, nevertheless, to have a distinctive dress of their own.

Appointments—The appointment of Executive Officers rests with Government nominally, but in effect nominations are made on the sole recommendation of the Commissary General. A former wise chief of the Department took care to recommend for appointment none but officers who had served as Interpreters and Quartermasters of their regiments, (or as Adjutants). Men of some experience and qualifications were thus at once secured to the Department. The Department was then the best paid in the military service, and candidates of the best promise were numerous accordingly. Recruited thus from, as it were, the flower of the Indian army it is not to be wondered at that the Department in old days ever proved efficient. It is to be regretted that the good system then inaugurated should have been departed from, and that through reduction of salaries the allurements to the best qualified candidates should have been withdrawn. Regimental Officers have now infinitely better prospects than those in the Commissariat Department. This should not be. Again, formerly the greatest *esprit de corps* existed. This has been much impaired, as well as the general efficiency of the Department, by the introduction into its ranks of old, and in some cases, effete Officers, whom the so-called amalgamation and staff corps schemes threw out of employ. These officers can never expect to rise through the grades, and have merely made a convenience of the department by entering it for a season, in order to obtain an addition to their pay while eking out the time for retirement. It takes at least five years to make a good Commissariat Officer, and these officers will have gained such length of experience merely to leave when it has been gained. Selfish and grievance-mongers, their presence in the department is a cancer to efficiency and *esprit de corps*, whilst they hold place to the exclusion of younger and more promising officers. The Government will suffer severely yet from having permitted this incubus on the department, in order to relieve itself of the necessity of decently providing for such valetudinarians. Of course these remarks cannot apply in their full force to the many excellent senior officers who have joined the Department since the mutiny, but only to those whom the cap may fit,—men who are drawing the pay, though

perfectly conscious of being quite unfit, mentally and physically, for the work

Examination of Candidates, and their preparation for the duties—Candidates for appointment to the Commissariat Department are required, besides the usual linguistic tests, to pass an entrance examination, which is supposed to prove their knowledge of book-keeping, arithmetic, and mensuration. They are appointed on probation for one year. Half of the time must be passed in an executive office, and the remainder in the office of the Examiner of Commissariat Accounts. They then appear for final examination as to their knowledge of departmental rules and accounts. The value of these examinations as tests of qualification may be gathered from the fact that there is not a single instance on record of an officer having been “spun” for either examination. The year of probation may be said to be one wasted, during which, too, be it observed, Government pays the young Officer for learning his work. If he did learn it, the money might be well spent, but as the work cannot be so learnt, but by experience alone, both time and money are, it is repeated, quite thrown away. There should be only one examination (an entrance one) which should be competitive, and the subjects given should embrace in addition to those already named—Chemistry as applied to detection of adulteration of food,” “the principles of steam and the steam-engine,” and “the breeding and treatment of cattle.” The elements of these subjects can as readily be acquired out of the department as in it, and might be studied during the many leisure hours at the disposal of the young officer, while serving the three years which must be passed in this country before he can hold any staff appointment of any kind. Having passed the entrance examination, the candidate should be considered as on probation for three years, during which period his aptitude for departmental employ should be frequently reported on by the senior officers under whom he may serve, and it need hardly be added that the more active and varied the service he sees during this probationary period the better.

Postings and Transfers of Executive Officers—These are made entirely at the will, and it may also be said, often at the caprice of the Commissary General. There is no system followed whatever. The evils resulting have already been touched upon above, but enough can hardly be said in condemnation of such unlimited power over the prospects and happiness (nay, even, in some instances over the very lives) of Executive Officers being placed in the hands of an individual to exercise according to his partiality, favour and affection. The wonder only is, that the power has not been more abused. That this evil has been permitted to exist so long unchecked is the less excusable, seeing that the remedy is easy. All transfers and postings should be notified to Government, and further care should be had that officers are ap-

pointed to charges according to their standing in the Department

In a Department like the Commissariat, experience is the one great requisite. As has already been remarked, it takes at least five years to make a good Commissariat Officer. Care should be had that the young officer does not gain his experience, as he now too frequently does, at heavy loss and expense to Government. No officer under three years' service in the Department should be placed in an independent charge. There are at present ten first-class, eleven second class, and five third-class executive charges. A re-classification is desirable. There should be eight first-class, eight second-class and ten third-class charges. To these classes respectively, officers should be appointed strictly according to seniority, except in the rare instances of misconduct, when supersession should take place—but under the direct order of Government itself, and not of the Commissary General. The duty in each executive charge respectively being equally onerous, the salary of officers of each class should be alike. Rupees 700 a month, with Rs 60 office-rent, should be paid to the first-class, Rs 500 staff, with Rs 50 office-rent, should be paid to the second-class, and Rs 400, with Rs 40 office rent, to the third-class. All junior officers in charge of outposts should receive Rs 200 staff salary, with Rs 20 office rent. Those not in charge of outposts should receive Rs 150 staff. This classification and scale of remuneration would commend themselves to the officers of the Department generally, but more particularly to the juniors, as also to intending candidates. A comparative scale is subjoined —

<i>Present Scale</i>		<i>Proposed Scale</i>	
	Rs		Rs
1 Commissary General	2,500	1 Commissary General	3,000
3 Deputies ditto @ 1,000 each	3,000	1 Deputy Commissary General	1,200
4 Assistants Commissary General, 1st class, @ 800 each	3,200	8 Executive Officers, 1st class, @ 700 each	5,600
4 do do do 2nd class @ 600	2,400	8 do do 2nd class, @ 500 each	4,000
6 Deputy Assistants Commissary General 1st class, @ 500	3,000	10 do do 3rd class, @ 400 each	4,000
6 do do do 2nd class, @ 400	2,400	20 Assistant Executive Officers, @ 200 each	4,000
12 Sub Assistants Commissary General, 1st class, @ 300	3,600	10 do do, @ 150 each	1,500
8 do do do 2nd class, @ 200	1,600		
8 do do do 3rd class, @ 150	1,200	53 Officers, costing	23,300
			per mensem
52 Officers, costing	22,900		
	per mensem		

It will thus be seen that by the proposed classification, the Department would gain an increase of *six* officers, and in reality an increase of *eight Executive Officers*, at an extra cost of Rs 400 a month. Now an extra number of Executive Officers is just what the Department most stands in need of,—more particularly to take charge of outposts. This increase of officers would be found a really economical measure *per se*, while the extra Rs 400 a month would be covered over and over again by the saving caused by the reduction of the office establishments of two of the three *Deputies Commissary General* above advised.

Warrant and Non-Commissioned Officers—Amongst this class of public servants will be found many most respectable, honest, hard-working and thoroughly efficient men; but on the other hand, it is to be said that quite a moiety of the number employed is perfectly worthless, and a source of trouble rather than an aid, to Executive Commissariat Officers. The fault lies mainly in the want of system in selection and subsequent training of candidates. Officers commanding regiments are naturally averse to part with really good men, and can hold out superior inducements to such to remain with their regiments. The consequence is that only inferior men, or even men whom it is deemed desirable to get rid of, are permitted to apply for Commissariat employ. The evil is further augmented by the fact that no evidence as to special qualifications is demanded, while a most superficial and trifling educational test in the three R's is all that is exacted preliminary to employment. Once in the Department the man, whether good, bad or indifferent, becomes a fixture, and can only be removed to his regiment for grave misconduct at the recommendation of the Commissary General, or by sentence of a Court Martial. He is appointed most generally, in the first instance, to the post of Victualling Sergeant of a regiment, the duties of which in cantonments may occupy his time for about one hour each morning after which he may employ the rest of the day pretty much as he likes,—to some a pleasant life doubtless, but scarcely a profitable one. Suddenly removed from the wholesome restraint of regimental discipline, with leisure fully at command, and surrounded by the influence of inferior though wily native subordinates, is it surprising that the non-commissioned Officer newly appointed to the Department finds it difficult to resist the temptation to drink and dishonesty so besetting him? Before suggesting the remedies for this unsatisfactory state of things, it may be well to take a brief and intelligent glance at the nature of duties required of the European subordinate grades of the department. These consist of charge of Outposts, Godown, Victualling Bakery, Butchery and Cattle duties. What is required for the three last-named is the close and special supervision of workmen skilled in each

of these trades respectively. These men should be employed on no other duty, and should be engaged and discharged by Executive Commissariat Officers themselves,—in short, should be under their sole and whole control. Nor should soldiers alone be employed, but the best men should be sought out, whether soldiers, pensioners, or civilians. The pay of each should be Rs 60 a month, increasing to Rs 100 with quarters. This is an increase on the salary now given, but the pay is not too much to secure the services of really good men, while the extra cost would be more than compensated by the general efficiency and economy resulting in these branches of service.

The other duties are important according to the order in which they are named, *viz*, “Outpost,” “Godown” and “Victualling.” These require permanent and trained *employees*. Candidates should be required to pass an entrance examination as to their ability to read and write English, with correctness of orthography and diction, at least, if not with elegance. Further, they should have a thorough knowledge of weights and measures and of mensuration of surfaces and solids, besides a fair colloquial knowledge of Urdu. None but really smart and physically fit soldiers of good character, of over five years service, should be permitted to seek employment. Soldiers possessing the requisite qualifications should be encouraged to register their names freely as candidates in the Brigade Major’s Office, and should be examined by the Garrison instructors who have been appointed under a recent order of the Commander-in-Chief for each considerable station. During the first three years subsequent to appointment, Executive Commissariat Officers should have full power to remove a soldier to his regiment either for misconduct, or for inattention to duty, or for general inaptness for Commissariat employ. It is advisable that the European subordinate department should be divided into four grades. The first grade should have the pay and relative rank of a Lieutenant, the second should have the pay and relative rank of an Ensign, the third grade should have a fixed salary of Rs 80 a month, with quarters, and should rank as warrant officers. The fourth grade should have pay, increasing from Rs 35 a month, with quarters, to Rs 60 a month, with quarters. These last should rank as regimental Staff Sergeants. Outposts should be classified into 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class. The officer in charge of a first class outpost should receive Rs 200 a month in addition to his pay proper, Rs 100 a month for a 2nd class, and Rs 50 a month for a 3rd class outpost. The charge of large godowns at sudder stations should confer extra pay of Rs 60 a month. Rs 50 a month extra should also be paid to any subordinate sent in Commissariat-charge of a detachment of strength over 100 men, and Rs 30 a month extra for the charge of any detachment of strength from 30 to 100 men. All permanent European subordinates of

the warrant and non-commissioned grades should receive Rs. 10 a month pony allowance,—without a pony to ride, their *efficiency* is curtailed one-half. The above scale of emoluments may be a trifle higher in some cases than what is now paid, but it is far from extravagant, and barely sufficient to secure the services of really good men, and to keep them from temptation.

It is believed that the services of at least a moiety of those employed in the non-commissioned grades of the Department might be dispensed with. At present a Victualling Sergeant is employed for each ration stand. As already said, these men have one hour's work of a morning,—no more. One intelligent man could readily and efficiently give all the aid required by the Executive Commissariat Officer at ration stands, where three or more are now often employed. Nothing could be easier than for a smart non-commissioned Officer to ride round all the ration stands at a station daily and having satisfied himself that the rations were properly tendered for issue, make his report to his officer. Indeed, it is not clear why the presence of a Victualling Sergeant at each ration stand is now considered necessary. It cannot be that he is supposed to control the regimental authorities receiving the rations, nor, probably having half the wit and experience of the native agent, is he likely to act as a check upon that, ordinarily speaking, astute functionary. What does he do then? Nothing, or next to nothing. The fault is not his own—it lies in the want of system.

There is, at present, no training whatever for the European subordinates of the Department, who are permitted to pick up only such knowledge of the duties as may suit their own fancy, and this in the most haphazard manner. On nomination to the department, the non-commissioned Officer should not be appointed in the first instance to any special duty, but should attend office regularly, and be ready to perform any duty the Executive Officer may entrust to him. He would thus gain a competent knowledge of the work of the Department generally, and would after a few months become really useful, whilst his time would be fully and profitably occupied, as well to his own benefit as to that of the Government.

Gomashtas, or native agents.—There are three classes of Gomashtas. Those of the 1st class receive Rs. 50 a month, 2nd class, Rs. 40, and 3rd class, Rs. 30. It need hardly be remarked that the pay received bears no proportion to the perquisites expected, and often surreptitiously enjoyed. Some of these agents render bills amounting monthly to from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 20,000, and even more. Is it reasonable to suppose that men conducting transactions of such magnitude as these figures import, will be satisfied with the, to them, paltry pay of Rs. 50 a month? Certainly not. The salary may be considered merely as a licence too frequently covering speculation. Let there be no

misunderstanding, however, speculation is rather the exception than the rule, but speculation is rendered easier through legitimate, though unrecognised, gains being mixed up with it in one general obscurity. The fact is that Gomashtas of all classes—Godown Gomashtas, Victualling Gomashtas, and Cattle Gomashtas—should each and severally be restricted to their own proper duties, and should not be permitted to supply any article whatever by direct purchase. Supplies should be obtained as far as practicable by contract, but when contracts are not obtainable, some respectable local firm should be employed to act as Purveyors. They should be regularly appointed under authority, but should receive no salaries. Supplies should be taken from these purveyors in fixed and wholesale quantities, at the rates ruling in the market for the time being. There is not the slightest doubt that respectable and wealthy merchants on the spot would be found not only willing but eager to undertake a supply, assuring them regular payments, and the usual profit on the capital employed. These purveyors should not be debarred from competing for contracts as well. Of course under such a system there would be no necessity for retaining the services of the class styled “Station Gomashtas,” and the anomaly above referred to of an agent presenting monthly bills of from Rs 15 000 to Rs 20,000, receiving a salary of Rs 20 a month, would be happily done away with.

Office establishments and Officers—So long as red-tapeism is allowed to continue rampant in this country, and so long as official circumlocution is at a premium, involving all transactions, however simple, in a perfect entanglement of reports, returns, statements, prices and all the chaotic correspondence fitly destined for the waste-basket—so long will it be impossible to make any material reduction in the heavy cost of office establishments. Greater efficiency might, however, be readily secured in those of the Commissariat Department by employing half the number of writers, but taking care that those employed are really fairly educated and intelligent men. This aim can only be reached by giving better salaries to the fewer number. All the writers of the department should be carefully classified, and should receive regular promotion. At present they look forward to receiving it through sycophancy or corruption.

Accounts, Auditor, &c—The accounts of the Department have been greatly simplified of late years, and indeed but little improvement in this direction is now required. Each Executive Officer submits monthly to the Examiner a cash account current, accompanied by a disbursement statement with vouchers, and with an abstract of items remaining inefficient, showing progress in adjustment. Further a monthly store-return is submitted, showing receipt and expenditure.

of stores. It is suggested that in place of the cash account current, a copy of the duly cash book itself should be submitted. All information desired by the Examiner for the preparation of the general accounts of the department could as readily be obtained from the cash book as from the cash account current, whilst a most salutary check would be established through each item of the cash book coming under scrutiny. The cash book sometimes would tell strange tales. Further, a half-yearly statement of "stock" issues and receipts should be submitted. Of "stock" taken in contradistinction to "stores" there is no account kept at present except in Executive Offices. A superior check is advisable.

The general accounts of the Department are compiled after audit by the examiner under appropriate heads shewing the different services, &c., and are submitted to Government through the Military Controller. The Examiner is entirely independent of the Department, and is subject only to the Military Controller. It would be far better that the Examiner's Office should be attached to that of the Commissary General. In fine, the Examiner should hold the office of General Accountant for the Department, but the accounts should bear the signature and receive the scrutiny of the Commissary General before being passed on to the Military Accountant. With the Military Accountant would then lie the responsibility of seeing that the sums estimated for in the Budget for different services were not exceeded, and that no unauthorised expenditure was made. The advantages of the change here advocated are too numerous for detail, but some more important points may be at once stated. The Commissary General is responsible for the economical working of the Department, but, under the present system, never sees the accounts till finally passed. By the system proposed he would be enabled to exercise as close a scrutiny as he pleased, without undue interference with the functions of the Examiner. Secondly, a great deal of correspondence would be saved by the Examiner having it in his power to make direct reference on the spot to the Commissary General. Thirdly, it must be remembered that the Commissary General, though authorising expenditure, actually makes none himself, and without seeing the accounts of his Executive Officers, how can he possibly judge whether an Executive charge is economically worked or not? It follows that great injustice is done to Executive Officers, who get no credit for any efforts they may make in the direction of economy. Can anything be more mischievous than such a system?—and can it be thought wonderful that Executive Officers should leave economies to look after themselves, while they direct their best energies to other portions of their work, wherein their efforts are likely to

manifest themselves, and are therefore more likely to receive substantial appreciation?

Thus may be brought to a close the remarks under the first head of this article, *viz*, the *Personnel*. The endeavour has been to submit briefly to inspection what may be styled the machinery by which the Commissariat Department is worked. The sketch is confessedly an imperfect one, rendered the more so perhaps from an over-anxiety not to wearv with details, which, though of much importance to the Government and to the Commissariat Department, can have but little interest for the general reader. The next head, as dealing more directly with economies, will, it is hoped, be more appreciated, at any rate by the tax-paying portion of the public.

ART IX.—TOPICS OF THE QUARTER

Indian Land Revenue

OUR article on this subject has attracted, as we anticipated, considerable criticism. We have no intention of making our *Topics of the Quarter* a means for carrying on a controversy with any critic who, during the past three months, in noticing our articles, has ventured to differ from any of our opinions, but the importance of the Land Question is so great, we are all so vitally interested in obtaining clear and correct views on it, that we propose to notice briefly the most important of the comments of those whom we fear we must call our opponents.

The foremost of these is the *Indian Economist*, whose issue of November 21st contains a review of our article. The tone of this review is so moderate that we cannot help feeling that its author, if he has not already considerably modified his former views, has at least no objection to listen to the arguments of the opposite side. We will therefore explain as briefly as possible our reasons for certain statements which he calls in question.

Our first fault of being "too discursive and theoretical to be of any practical value" is scarcely a fault of ours, we never proposed to write a "manual for Settlement Officers," but if our article consists mainly of an examination of various "theories," it is because our opponents have forced their theories on our notice with such boldness and pertinacity. Our own views were stated so briefly that we can hardly be said to have advanced any "theory" at all.

We do not desire to speculate further on the effect of our article on Mr. Mill, but we must take exception to the inference to be drawn from the *Economist's* remarks. It argues thus,—your reflections are so obvious that they must have occurred to any man of ordinary ability, therefore they must have occurred to Mr. Mill, but Mr. Mill has taken no notice of them, this shows that he did not consider them worth an answer, therefore they were *not* worth one. Now it is just these 'obvious' reflections that do *not* occur to some very clever men, and we refuse for one moment to admit that if our reflections have occurred to a great man and been cast aside silently and contemptuously, we are bound instantly to abandon them. A great portion of the religious world refuses to acknowledge the infallibility of a single Pope, in the literary world we are to bow down not to one Pope, but to fifty. A controversy will in future be conducted in the following manner: if any man ventures to put forward any views on any subject, he will be asked by his critic if they are in accordance with the views

of some great man who has written on that subject, if the answer is 'no,' the author will be asked if he pretends to be cleverer than the great man, if again he says 'no,' he will be told that his remarks are obviously worthless. It may be that the reasons advanced by us for thinking that land is much the same as other property were shallow, but we still believe that those who think otherwise have paid little heed to the "signs of the times." Does any one believe that those who are now ready to lead the working classes into possession of our "common inheritance" will be able, if they succeed, to restrain their followers from attacking other property? Will they even attempt to do so? Are not Mr Mill's schemes for *purchasing* land, and selling or letting it to peasant-proprietors, already scorned as conservative and inadequate? Is it not avowed that the attack is on capital itself, and that it is directed first against land, because the purchase of land is one of the modes of investing capital, and not because land and capital are themselves distinct?

The *Economist* has never met with the statement that "the State is the sole landlord," but it has often been made by Mr Mill, if not in so many words, at least by implication. We will quote only a single passage, which occurs in his *Political Economy*, Book II, Chapter X, § 3, where he says "in India the Government being itself the landlord can fix the rent according to its judgment." Mr Knight himself has been almost furious in his crusade against "malguzars" and "middlemen" and those who would call them proprietors, and we much regret to see that since our article was written the Government of India has taken the opportunity afforded by the passing a Revenue Law for the Panjab, of declaring that the sole limit on the Government demand is the Government caprice. It makes little difference whether the advocates of such a "State" call it the "sole landlord," or a "landlord whose share of the produce of the soil may be extended to the whole." We thought that our own views were expressed with no uncertain sound, and that there was no necessity to "dig them out." We do not hesitate to say that the Land Revenue is a tax on agriculture, but we must point out that we have fully stated why we consider it a defensible tax. Can it be denied that it is a contribution paid from the profits of agriculture, and that if there were no Government, the whole of these profits would justly belong to the agriculturists? If it is not a tax, if it is a rent-charge belonging to the sovereign of the day, as truly as the rents of Lord Mayo's estates belong to him, it follows that it is the personal property of the Queen, that she would have a right to it even if it amounted to 100 millions a year, and that we should praise her benevolence if she expended half of this for the ordinary purposes of Government.

We are next charged with, in our remarks on Joseph's policy, travestying both the Scripture narrative and Mr Knight's comments on it. We ventured to doubt the inspiration of the idea which fixed the demand at $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the gross produce. An examiner of the Calcutta University might direct the examinees to "state briefly but clearly the fiscal policy of Joseph, pointing out what part of it was of divine and what of human origin," but as we are neither Theological Professors nor Bengali undergraduates, we decline to attempt an answer. We speak diffidently, and can only give our 'impressions' on the subject. The reason for our impression that the tax was an old one is the account given in Genesis xli. Joseph is there said to have advised Pharaoh to provide against the impending famine by taking up $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the land and storing its produce, but no mention is made of any payment. Therefore, unless the tax was an old one, Joseph was advising an act of downright plunder. It may be urged that though no mention was made of payment, yet it is to be understood. If so, why is any particular share of the produce recommended to be taken? Why did not Joseph simply tell Pharaoh to buy as much corn as he could during the years of plenty? We are blamed for saying that the money was taken 'to be squandered on the pleasures of a corrupt court.' Whatever may have been Joseph's intention, this result certainly did follow, and if he was inspired he must have foreseen it. Genesis xlvii, 26 tells us that the $\frac{1}{3}$ th became, not 'the share of the common-wealth,' but Pharaoh's, it will hardly be denied that the Pharaohs spent their revenues on their own pleasures, or that their courts were corrupt. Really it is Mr Knight and not ourselves, who is guilty of travestying Scripture, let the narrative speak for itself, and we have a natural picture of Joseph's character. He is represented as the "faithful steward of Pharaoh's house," expending Pharaoh's money in such a manner as to benefit Pharaoh's people, and Pharaoh himself. If we attempt to take him as a model for a Chancellor of the Exchequer, addressing the House of Commons, we place him in a false and ridiculous position. Let us suppose that Ireland, 30 years ago, was owned in feesimple by peasant-proprietors, that during the height of the famine the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House of Commons that he had taken advantage of the *desperate condition* of the people to invest the savings of Her Majesty's privy purse in such a manner as to secure the Royal Family $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the gross produce of Ireland for ever, and that owing to the severity of distress he had secured this advantage for a mere trifle. Let us suppose him in his peroration to quote the present condition of Egypt and the oriental countries where such a fiscal policy has been in force as a convincing proof that this policy is the wisest a nation can adopt. We should soon see if the greatest statesmen of the day agreed with him.

We are represented as holding that "the criticisms to which "recent settlement operations have been subjected by the *Economist* and others are worthless, because it is only the settlement officers themselves who can decide whether the assessment is "right or wrong" We need scarcely say that we never made any such statement. We *did* hold the criticisms to be worthless, we did so because they were based on a radically wrong principle. Instead of carefully reviewing settlement reports, they condemned the new assessments solely because they fell short of an arithmetical portion of an imaginary gross produce. We should be the last to maintain that settlement officers are infallible and above criticism. Our present state of agricultural knowledge is so imperfect that it is absolutely impossible for the most careful officer to avoid occasional mistakes, to criticise their work to any purpose, we must carefully review it as a whole, and, if we discover errors, we must see whether they are fairly attributable to negligence on the part of the settlement officer, or arise from causes he could not reasonably foresee. A letter is given from a settlement officer, and we are asked what we have to say to it. Simply nothing for it contains no real data for criticism. We are merely told that the revising officer found 400 estates, where the Government demand was not 40 per cent of the net assets, this does not prove that the demand was wrong when it was originally fixed, the fact that the proprietors would submit to an increase of 10 per cent rather than endure the wrong and annoyance necessarily caused by a revision of settlement is very natural, and that the Income tax excites deep and general discontent is denied by no one but the Supreme Government.

A correspondent of the *Indian Observer* has informed us what is the theory of the Land Revenue in a native State, we think it more important to see what is the actual practice. There is little doubt on this point, and if this practice were fully adopted by our Government, the result would be simply this every District Officer would screw as much out of his district as he possibly could, and remit to the Commissioner as little as he dare, putting the balance into his own pocket, the same rule would be observed by each superior officer up to the Viceroy, who would not only wrangle in like manner with the Queen, but would openly throw off his allegiance the instant he felt strong enough to do so. We invited our critic to give us some information on the commercial policy of a native State, but neither he nor any one else has been able or willing to do so.

Other critics have stigmatized our policy as 'retrograde,' but surely they cannot have done so seriously. To maintain that only such revenue shall be raised as is actually required, and that it shall be raised in the manner least oppressive to the people, cannot

excite the opposition of the most advanced thinker. If any school deserves the epithet retrograde, it is the one which talks about "*Mughul shares*," and urges us to imitate the fiscal policy of oriental despots

Education in Bengal

WE would call the special attention of our readers to what must be reckoned as by far the most important event of the past quarter, we refer to the measures that have been set on foot by the University of Calcutta to establish Examinations in the Vernacular, after the fashion of the Oxford and Cambridge Middle-Class Examinations. The scheme has grown out of a minute of the Lieutenant-Governor of the N W Provinces, in which he expressed his desire that greater encouragement should be given to purely Oriental studies, both classical and vernacular. To effect this object, he put forward a proposal that students, after passing the First Arts Examination, might be allowed the option of confining their studies entirely to Oriental literature for the B A Degree. This proposition was met by Mr E C Bayley, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, with an amendment that candidates for entrance to the University should be allowed to pass that examination in their own vernaculars. These propositions were submitted to educational authorities in Bengal, the North-West, the Central Provinces, Oudh, and the Panjab, and, from the discussion that followed, two points clearly emerged. First, that Sir W Muir's proposition, while encouraging the study of the Oriental classics, would, directly at least, effect little for the vernaculars, secondly, that the Vice-Chancellors alternative scheme, while it would give a great start to vernacular education, was rather beside the present University system there would be an Entrance Examination, after which nothing was entered upon. The result of all was a suggestion, independently made by several of those who had been consulted, that an examination through the medium of the vernaculars should be instituted by the University, not in substitution of the ordinary Entrance Examination, but co-ordinate with it.

This scheme has been matured by the Syndicate, and has lately received the sanction of the Senate. As it now stands, the examination will include the following subjects —

- (1) A grammatical knowledge of the language in which the candidate desires to be examined, *viz* — Bengali, Urdu, Hindi, or Uriya, to which the Syndicate may add any others
- (2) Outlines of the History of India, and Geography
- (3) Mathematics, including Arithmetic, Algebra, and Geometry
- (4) Certain optional subjects, *viz* — a classical language,

Mensuration, Natural Philosophy, and Physical Geography, of which a candidate may take up not more than two, but is not required to take up any in order to pass

We have the fullest confidence that the institution of these examinations will mark an important era in Indian education. It has long been felt that, whatever opinion may be held about the success of the University system, its effect upon the masses of the people has been little or nothing. It was this feeling that inspired Mr Howell's Note on Education two years ago, and Mr Campbell's more recent solicitude for the maintenance of the purity of the vernaculars. The problem was, how to encourage vernacular education without such a diversion of public money as would starve the higher education. Extend and support the *patshala* system as you would, it could only teach boys to read and write what was wanted was an education higher than this, and, at the same time, one more suited to the needs of the people than that given in English schools with the Entrance Examination for its goal. True, vernacular schools existed, but the instruction given in them was neither definite nor uniform, and they found no encouragement or stimulus beyond the hasty visit of an inspector, whose estimate of their merits was too often decided by accident. The present scheme will, it may fairly be predicted, go far to supply these defects. The examination will provide a searching test of the efficiency of vernacular schools throughout the provinces into which it may be introduced, at the same time, it will effect an immediate improvement in the teaching of those schools which now exist, and will, in all probability, lead to the establishment through private efforts of many more. When the scheme is in full working order, the number of those who present themselves for examination will probably be reckoned by thousands, and the certificate given by the University to those who pass will become a coveted distinction, and will possess a practical value. As a healthy effect of competition, a tradition of high vernacular education cannot fail to spring up, no less important in its results, and much wider-reaching, than the English education which we have seen under development in the last quarter of a century.

The Registrar of the Calcutta University has issued a voluminous Report containing opinions of Educational officers and other gentlemen on the proposed scheme for introducing the study of Physical Science into the Colleges and Schools of India. On this scheme we commented at length in our last number*, and the objections therein maintained to the proposals of the Committee have been amply borne out by the opinions embodied in the Report

* See an Article "Physical Sci- Calcutta Review, No 071, October, ence in the Calcutta University," 1871

The condemnation of the scheme as put forth by the Committee is practically unanimous. The Committee proposed to introduce the study of Physical Science, not merely into Colleges, but into Zillah and other schools. To this part of the scheme we find the following objections most repeatedly and most forcibly expressed. In Government schools, the expense of providing the requisite teachers and apparatus would be simply enormous. Independent and aided-schools, which have no extra funds to fall back upon, would be altogether debarred from sending up candidates for matriculation. It would most mischievously widen the area of the Entrance Course which, notwithstanding the Committee's facile belief that more might be introduced into it with advantage, is perhaps already too extensive. The suggestion that a sufficiency of dexterous experimentalists might be produced by bringing the Zillah school-masters for one month to Calcutta, seems to betray too sanguine an estimate of their receptive powers. In any case, as the examination must consist in writing answers to some out of a definite series of questions mostly known beforehand, the necessary result would be to encourage "cram."

On the other hand, there seems to be a real desire to give more prominence to Physical Science in the College Course. This is to be effected, not by thrusting Botany and Chemistry by force on unwilling students, but by making many subjects optional which are now compulsory, and thus giving Physical Science an equal chance with other subjects of study. The change might be confined to the B.A. Course, the First Arts Course being retained nearly in its present form, including English, a Classical language, History, Mathematics, and some branch of Mental Science. To us it seems clear that after the solid basis of a liberal education had been thus laid, concentration might advantageously take place. Reduce the six subjects now prescribed for the B.A. Course to three or, at most, four, English being always one, and the others to be selected at the option of the student. The two years which are now, in too many cases, frittered away in an attempt to gain a useless smattering of half a-dozen subjects,—we speak merely of the 'shady' passman,—might be productive of real profit if he were allowed to confine his attention, say, to English, Mathematics and Physical Science, or to English, Sanskrit and Mental Science. In the English Universities the value of the optional principle is becoming every day more and more fully recognised. At Oxford, up to twenty years ago, all men of whatever intellectual tastes, were bound to pass through the mill of two schools, the classical and the mathematical. At that time two new schools were introduced, those of Law and Modern History and of Physical Science, either of which might be substituted for Mathematics at the option of the candidate. Five years ago, even the classical school of History and

Philosophy, hitherto the characteristic feature of Oxford study, was made optional like the rest, and, by taking up an additional book at moderations, a man could escape the final Classical School altogether, provided he gave a sufficient guarantee of his being a genuine student by taking at least a third class in one of the other schools. And it is only yesterday that Congregation decided that those who preferred Greek literature to Latin might have the option of abandoning the latter language, and taking up only Greek books for examination. Solidity in one subject is held to be higher than a superficial knowledge of many. If Oxford has been able, in the face of all her old traditions, to vindicate this principle with such complete success, the Calcutta University need not shrink from attempting a reform which would go far to relieve her of the imputation which is most commonly levelled against her teaching.

At the same time it must not be forgotten that there are serious difficulties to be met in reducing this scheme to practice. If every candidate takes up three subjects where he formerly took up six, he will be expected to know each subject twice as well as before, and therefore will require twice as much instruction in it, in other words, either the work or the number of the Professors must be doubled. It is not easy to see how this difficulty can be met, except by giving to private study some of the hours now spent in hearing College lectures—a practise which of course prevails in European Universities, but which has not hitherto been largely followed by native students except on the eve of an examination. But the obstacles in the way of the reform are probably not insurmountable, and meanwhile we should rejoice to see the University recognise, or at least discuss, the principle of narrowing the area and increasing the depth of the attainments of her students.

The Bengálí, as he is now turned out from the educational mill, was some time since the object of very severe and, as we conceive, unjust criticism at the hands of the *Indian Observer*. The high reputation which that paper justly enjoys makes us regret that the writer's estimate of the results of education on Bengálís should be apparently coloured by prejudice or scorn. It is not to be denied that the young man who has just been admitted to the B.A. Degree amid the pomp and circumstance of the annual Convocation, does frequently manifest an instability, a flippancy, a conceitedness, about his acquirements, which are in ludicrous contrast with the severe view of life which a young Englishman who has his way to make in the world adopts as soon as he puts on his gown. And when the Babu hastens to give prominence to these unpleasant features of his character by inflated speech and inaccurate writing, we are apt to get angry

But let us at the same time be just. If modesty and reserve are not really notes of the Bengálí character, it seems rather too much to expect that they could be uniformly implanted by the merely intellectual education which is given in our colleges. We might, it is true, be led to hope that the effect of education would be to diminish vanity, to give solidity to the character and dignity to the bearing of those who received it, and this is precisely what we do find. According to our own experience, modesty and dignity do grow, even among Bengálís, in proportion to culture, and the ungrammatical bombast which we, in common with the *Observer*, find so offensive, is pretty generally confined to the 'bad bargains' of University training, to those shallow pretenders who have just managed to scrape through the examinations, and who, in other Universities as well as in Calcutta, unless they are the humblest, are then the most conceited men of their year. We have known, not one, but dozens of Bengálí B.A.'s so modest, unaffected, and frank in their bearing that, putting aside any inquiry into their attainments, they are pleasant testimonials to the University training that has done that much at least for them.

On the other hand, if the censure of the *Observer* is directed, not so much against the conceit of the College-trained Bengálí, as against the absence of any visible results of education in Bengálí society, we must still enter our protest against too sweeping a denunciation. It is true that the Bengálí B.A. is not nearly so well-informed, outside the range of his University studies, as the average educated Englishman. But consider the circumstances of his daily life. English education is a thing of yesterday, and the young Babu who spends five hours of the day in College, passes the rest of the twenty-four among people who have not, in the majority of cases, received a tithe of the advantages that even he has. Unlike the Englishman, he has not the enormous advantage of conversing familiarly and constantly with men of wider culture than himself, and enlarging by that means the range of his intellectual activity. If self-conceit is truly to be ascribed to the educated Bengálí, it is here that we ought to look for its sufficient cause. It should not be forgotten, too, that the Bengálí marries young, and that the cares and duties of a family shorten in an appreciable degree the leisure which he can devote to the cultivation of his mind.

Or again, is it the failure to produce a literary class that is condemned? In answer to this we would ask—with a writer in a late number of the *Bengalee* newspaper who, notwithstanding the choice English and temperate tone which mark his letter, is evidently one of that class of educated natives against whom the *Observer* is so severe,—'What sort of works do they require

from our graduates? Do they want them to be Froudes and Gibbons, Arnolds and Grotes? Do they ever imagine the serious difficulties which lie in the way of producing a historical work equal in merit to any of those? Will they point out the library or the muniment-room in India where to look for those heaps of records in which a nation's glory and a nation's achievements lie buried? Nor must the effects of inherited temperament be ignored — 'Where can we look for the patience, the strong constitution of a Scott, who could extract by mental labour quite inconceivable to us, out of dry manuscripts buried in the dust of ages, the richest materials for the brightest and happiest creations of genius? To a weak and enervated Bengali the attempt to collate and verify one-tenth of the references with which Gibbon's pages are filled, seems to be attended with insurmountable difficulties' To us indeed it seems that English education has attained a degree of success which is really remarkable. We have sown the seed, and we may look forward to a time when the branches of the tree shall spread and cover the land, but we need not commit the error of expecting to enjoy the shade of the oak within a few months of planting the acorn.

It may be reasonably conjectured that the class against which the *Observer* launches his thunder is not the class from which his experience has been drawn. English education in this country means two totally different things — *First*, elementary English education in language merely, such as is given under a native head-master in Zillah and other schools, *secondly*, the higher education in literature and science which is given in the colleges. The first turns out a numerous and useful body of men, who become shop-keepers, who furnish forth the whole class of *Keranis* in Government and private offices, who fill the lower posts in the Subordinate Executive service, but who otherwise have no pretensions to cultivation. The second sends forth every year a number of men who retire to their *Zemindaris*, who take to the professions of law and education, who show a more or less intelligent interest in the novel field of local and imperial politics, and from whom must arise, if it arises at all, that literary class which we desire to see. But the former outnumber the latter by twenty to one, and when the English-speaking Babu is discussed, the thoughtless or prejudiced observer is apt to confound the two classes. Whatever may be the faults of the educated Bengali, we need not magnify them by a fallacy of confusion, nor need we credit them to the University training which does its best to eradicate them, and, unless the experience of all educators is to go for nothing, we might reasonably expect to find that the character of a man who has been for four years under the personal influence and sympathy of a cultivated Englishman, is set in a different mould from that of

one whose education has ceased, at sixteen years of age, with the Entrance Examination

Mr Lobb has contributed, during the past quarter, a number of letters on the subject of education to the *Bengalee* and the *Indian Observer*. Mr Lobb's sympathies are so large, and his interest in the subject so keen, that anything that he writes is sure to command attention. His condemnation of the worship of the demon of competition is forcible and just, it is at best, but a clumsy expedient for determining the ablest men, and in many cases it seems studiously designed to keep the best men out. "Give me a man with courage, and perseverance, and foresight, with a good dose of pride and love of power, with a keen faculty of observation, and strong common-sense. Give me these qualities in my leader, and I shall be little careful about the accuracy of his spelling, or the extent of his proficiency in the Aryan languages, but these qualities can never be tested by our present competitive examinations." But the system has taken firm root in India as it has in England, and our efforts should be directed towards lessening its abuses, and developing it into something higher and better. Gradually and insensibly it has taken such a form as to encourage the belief that the end of education has been attained when an examination has been passed, and the consequence is that the University Course prescribes, and examiners set questions in, subjects which are too often chosen with little reference to their power of developing the intelligence of the students. But we cannot think that Mr Lobb is particularly happy in the examples which he chooses to illustrate this perversity. He complains, and with much justice, of the common inability shown by educated natives to write decent English, and he attributes it in great part to the line which instruction is forced to take by the injudicious questions of examiners. Among the questions which he condemns are the following — "Remark upon the vocabulary of Milton, comparing it with that employed by his contemporaries and by modern writers." It seems to us that this is just the sort of question which ought to be asked of students who read Milton. If they are to be taught English out of authors separated by an interval of two centuries it is first of all desirable (since it is accuracy in writing English that Mr Lobb insists on), that they should attain to a sort of grammatical perspective, that they should be able to discriminate modern forms and phrases from those which are farther off in time.

The same remark applies to questions upon the derivation and the different meanings of a word. Minute differences in meaning, to which derivation helps us are exactly what the Bengali, like any other foreigner, fails in. He does not know the circle, so to speak, in which a word moves, and he is constantly introducing it

to strangers of a different social scale, with the most grotesque results "Look mercifully upon my failings, and the Almighty will reward you tit for tat," is a good illustration of what we should try and teach the Bengali to avoid. The only questions that Mr Lobb seems to approve are those involving the argument of a poem or story, and paraphrase. It may be easily conjectured what sort of stuff is produced when a passage of Macaulay is given to be rendered into Bengali English, and we have always looked upon a 'paraphrase' question as the offer of a premium for the use of bad language. In fact, so long as the University sets selections from particular authors, examiners must set critical and philological questions, otherwise students might as well be taught English out of the newspapers, and examined in the current number of the *Saturday Review*. The real reason why students write bad English is that they have too much to do, if the number of subjects that they have to learn is reduced, the standard of English will be raised like the rest.

We do not understand why Mr Lobb censures questions about the Aryan languages, there seems to be no sufficient reason why Bengali students of English should not be taught that these languages are in origin identical, and that the Greeks and Romans whose history they learn, as well as the French and Germans whose deeds they read of in the newspapers, are akin to their own Sanskrit-speaking predecessors. Mr Lobb thinks that such questions encourage 'a wide-spread intellectual dishonesty,' because Bengalis cannot know any Aryan languages except their own, Sanskrit and English. But results have a value quite independent of the processes by which they have been discovered, and there would be just as much reason for refusing to teach students the laws of planetary motion, until they could deduce them mathematically from the law of central forces. The links which bind Humanity together are not so numerous or so strong that we can afford to despise such help as is given by the knowledge of a common language and a common origin.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

N^o CVIII.

ART I—THE TERRITORIAL ARISTOCRACY OF BENGAL.

NO I—THE BARDWA'N RA'J

IN the series of which the present paper is the first number, we propose to narrate, with the utmost care and in some detail, the territorial and genealogical history of the noblemen and gentlemen of a vast province—the titled and untitled zamindárs of Bengal. Whilst we propose to give (as far as we are able) those particulars of the family and history of the present incumbents of the titles or estates, which are usually given in “Peerages,” “County Histories,” &c, in England, we also wish to do more than this. In the first place, in narrating the genealogical history of each family, we shall endeavour to make it illustrate the general political and social history of the country. That this is quite possible, in the dearth of authentic published records and other materials for local history, has been abundantly proved by the highly interesting and most valuable labours of Dr W W Hunter in Bírblhúm. In the second place, in narrating the territorial history and in describing the territorial possessions of each family, we hope to present our readers with a topographical and statistical account of the estates in question. The scientific value and interest of such information where it is authentic—and to this end our utmost efforts will tend—must be allowed by all, and at present, even where it is at all attainable, it is only to be found by ransacking dingy record-rooms, and by laborious enquiries which in many cases must occupy a long time.

Mr J Z Holwell in his account of Bengal, as it was during the later Muhammadan times, thus describes Bardwán or Burdumanna as he calls it—“North-west of Fort William and

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about three days and a half distant lie the lands of Rajah Tilluck Chunder extending twelve days' travel, the stipulated rents of these lands, thirty-two lacs *per annum*, but its real produce and value from eighty lacs to one khrore. This is the principal of the three districts ceded in perpetuity to the Company by the treaty with Cassim Ali Khan in the year 1760." Mr Holwell adds "Burdumaun is high and better peopled and better cultivated than any part of the three provinces, blessings that caused it every year more particularly to become a prey to the Mahrattahs, as before recited."

Sir Bernard Burke, in his *Peerage and Baronetage for 1871*, gives a brief account of the Bardwan Ráj under the heading *British subjects enjoying titles of Foreign Nobility*. This classification is obviously wrong, the titled zamíndars of Bengal are no more *foreign* noblemen than the Scotch or Irish peers or the Ulster baronets. It was, however, difficult for Sir Bernard Burke to decide under what other category to place them. The following is the account to which we refer —

BARDWAN *

Mahtáb Chánd Maháraj Adhiráj Bahádui of Bardwán, Bengal, originally of Koth in Lahor, b November 17, 1820, s to the title and ráj after the death of his father the Maháraj Adhiráj Tej Chánd Bahádur, 16th August 1832, m first, 18 February 1829, Nayan Kumári dau of Piará Lál, originally of Sirhind in Pattiala. She was b 10th March 1822, d 24th June 1840, and had issue —

Dhander Maharáj Kumari of Bardwan, b 17th June 1840, m 20th March 1847, Lálá Gopináth Mehrá (son of Lálá Gangáram Mehrá of Patna), b 6th December 1829, d 10th July 1853.

He m secondly, 24th June 1844, Nárain Dei, now Nárain Kumari Maháráni Adhirani of Bardwán, dau of Lálá Kedárnáth, of Bharach, in Oudh, b 5th June 1833, and has issue —

Aftab Chánd Mahtab Bahádur Maháraj Kumár of Bardwán, son and heir at law by adoption, b 8th August 1860.

Arms — Az, an ancient (Hindústáni) shield, ppr, between in chief a crescent, and in base two swords in saltire, points downward also ppr.

Crest — An iron grey horse's head couped, around the neck a riband azure, and pendant therefrom an escutcheon of the last charged with a lotus flower ppr.

Motto — Deo credito, justitiam colito.

Residences — Mahtab Manzil (Rájbari), Darulbahar (Dilkhusha), Mahtáb Masir (Krishnasagar), Bardwán, Rajbari, Chinsurah, Rájbari, Kálná, Rose Bank and Woodlands, Dárljling, and the Retreat, Kurseong.

* We have ventured to alter Sir graphy of Indian proper names Bernard's very unintelligible ortho

The pedigree of the Bardwan family thus runs,—

Abu Rái,
Babu Rái,
Ghanasyam Rái,
Krishnaram Rái,
Raja Jagat Rám Rai,
Rájá Kirtti Chandra Rái,
Rájá Mitra Sen Rai,
Mahárajá Chitra Sen Rái,

Mahárajá Trailokya Chandra
Rai,
Mahárajá Biráj Rájá,
Mahárajá Tej Chandra Bahá-
dur,
Mahárajá Pratáp Chandra
Bahadúr,
Mahárajá Mahtáb Chandra
Bahádur

Abu Rái by caste a Kapur Kshatriya, was the founder of the Bardwan family. He migrated to Bengal from the Panjab, and settled in Bardwan. In the year 1068 of the Muhammadan era, he was appointed Chaudhí and Kotwal of Pek-abe Bagan, &c, in the town of Bardwán, under the Fauzdar of Chakla Bardwan. His son Babu Rái, who owned Pargana Bardwán and three other mahals, was succeeded by his son Ghanasyám Rai. On the death of Ghanasyam Rái, his son Krishnaram Rai having succeeded to the zamíndáris, acquired new estates, and was honoured with a farmán from the Emperor Alamgir. It was in his time, and in the year 1107 of the Hijrah and A D 1696 that one of his feudatories, Subhá Singh, the talukdar of Jetwá and Bardá, in the district of Bardwán, being dissatisfied with his administration, raised the standard of rebellion for the avowed purpose of overturning the Ráj. Rahim Khan, an Afghan chief, co-operated with him in the expedition. In a stand-up fight, they slew the Mahárajá and captured all the members of his family except his son Jagat Rai, who escaped and proceeded to Dháka and urged the Governor to espouse his cause and assist him in expelling the rebels. The Governor deputed Núr Alí, the Fauzdar of Jessor, and a *Tinhazárí* or military commandant of 3,000 horse. The Fauzdár, however, believing with Falstaff that discretion was the better part of valour, marched from Jessor, but instead of fulfilling his mission shut himself up in the fort of Hugi and invoked the aid of the Governor of the neighbouring Dutch settlement of Chinsurah. The insurgents, emboldened by the pusillanimous proceedings of the Fauzdar, laid siege to Hugi, and acquired possession of that city without resistance. They were, however, in their turn, attacked by the Governor of Chinsurah, and compelled to abandon Hugi. Amongst the members of the family of the Mahárajá captured by the rebel, was his beautiful virgin daughter, whom Subhá Singh endeavoured to sacrifice to his passion. He at first flattered and cajoled her, but his proposals being indignantly refused, he entered her room or rather prison, and proceeded to offer her violence. The Ráj-Kumárfí, prepared for the outrage, drew from the folds of her sári a sharp-pointed instrument and stabbed him with it in the abdomen.

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The wretch Subhā Singh died a victim to his lawless lust. Animated by an heroic sense of honour, the Rāj-Kumārī felt she had been polluted by his touch, and plunged, Lucretia-like, the dagger into her own breast.

It may be here mentioned that in the rebellion of Subhā Singh originated the formation of the towns of Calcutta, Chandernagar, and Chinsurah. The English at Sutanati, the French at Chandernagar, and the Dutch at Chinsurah being intimidated by the outrages of the rebels, applied to the Nawab Názim of Murshidabad to be allowed to put their factories into a state of defence. The Nawáb granted their application and they accordingly fortified their settlements.

Jagat Ram Rái succeeded his father Kúshnaram Rái. He also made additions to the family estates, and was honoured with a farmán by the Emperor Alamgír. He was slain by a traitor at about the termination of the year 1108. He left two sons—Kírtti Chandra Rái and Mitra Sen Rái. The elder brother, Kírtti Chandra, inherited the ancestral zamindáris, and acquired parganá Chaturvan, Bhurshut, Bardá, and Manoharshahí, and was honoured by a farmán by the above-mentioned Emperor. Kírtti Chandra was a bold and adventurous spirit. He fought with the rajás of Chandrakoná and Baradá near Ghatal, and dispossessed them of their petty kingdoms. He also seized and took possession of the estates of the Rájá of Balghará, situated near the celebrated shrine of Tarakesvar. These estates were consolidated into the Bardwán rāj. Kírtti Chandra then proceeded to Murshidabad, and got his name registered as proprietor of the new properties. But the boldest achievement of Kírtti Chandra was his attacking and defeating Badyajama, the powerful Rájá of Bishnupur and the chief of the aboriginal Bagdís of Bengal. He was, however, afterwards reconciled to Badyajama, and co-operated with him in assisting the Nawáb to repel the Marhattás who had encamped in Kátwá after plundering the Western districts. Kírtti Chandra died in the year 1146 and was succeeded by his son Chitra Sen Rái, who added the parganá Mandalghát, Arsa, and Chandrakoná to the paternal estates, and in 1138 was invested with the title of rájá by the Emperor Muhammad Sháhjahán*. He died in the year 1151 A.H. without issue, and was succeeded in the rāj by his cousin (paternal uncle's son) Trailokya Chandra Rái.

In 1167 Trailokya Chandra Rái was honoured by the Emperor Ahmad Sháh with a farmán recognising and confirming his rights to the rāj. In 1172 he was invested with the titles of Mahá-rajá Dhiráj Bahadur and *Punghazárá*, or commander of five thousand cavalry, by the Emperor Shah Alam.

* The puppet-emperor set up by Alamgír II in 1759 A.D. Ghází ud dín, after the assassination of

The Mahárájá, like his immediate predecessors, exercised almost absolute sway within the limits of his territories as the following fact will shew. In 1755 A.D., an Englishman, having to receive money from one Gomashta Ramjiban Kaburáj, complained to the authorities of the English Settlement at Hughli, and invoked their interference for the recovery of his dues. Thereupon the authorities put peons upon the Rájbari, believing the Gomashta to be concealed there. The Maharaja feeling this indignity, revenged himself by putting chowkees upon all the Company's factories within his district, and thus stopped their business. Upon the representation of the English authorities, the Nawab directed the Mahárájá to withdraw the chowkees and allow the English to resume their business.

We find from the proceedings of the Council, dated 24th December 1760, that for the purpose of conciliating the Maharaja the Hon'ble Company made him the following presents —

	Rs
1 Elephant	2,000
2 A suit of clothes	600
3 Sirpauch	400
	<hr/>
Total Rs	3,000

During the time of the Maharaja, Bardwán was plundered by the Marhattás as the following letter from him to the English authorities will show —

"How can I relate to you the present deplorable situation of this place? Three months the Marhattas remained here, burning, plundering and laying waste the whole country, but now, thank God, they are all gone, but the inhabitants are not yet returned. The inhabitants have lost almost all they were worth."

The ráj took some time to recover from the effects of this devastation. The calamity was thus pleaded by the Mahárájá for non-payment of money due from him to the Company.

"You are well acquainted with the bad situation of this place at present, but hope I shall be able to pay you the money in the time that I agreed. It has been my bad fortune to have my country burned, plundered and destroyed by the Marhattás, which is the reason that there is now a balance due to the Company, and to reinstate my country again must be attended with great difficulties which give me much uneasiness."

The elasticity of the resources of the ráj enabled the Mahárájá to regain his position.

In his time there was a Rajbari at Beallah, about seven miles south of Calcutta. The fort of Bajbay on the Hughli was also his property.

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He died in 1177, and was succeeded by his son Tej Chandra, who, in 1184 B E., was invested with the hereditary title of Mahárájá Dhuraj Bahádur by the Emperor Sháh Alam. In 1791 A D., he was confirmed in the ráj and title by the English Government.

The career of Tej Chandra, as well as that of his successor the present Mahárája, is interlaced with the condition of the Bardwán ráj during the English administration, and will be told in the course of this narrative.

After the late East India Company took possession of the Dívání, no immediate steps were taken for regulating the collection of the revenues of this or any other part of the country. "Every zamíndáí," as Warren Hastings observes in his admirable letter to the Court of Directors, "and every taluk" was left to its own peculiar "customs." We also learn from the high authority above quoted that Bardwan, which had been in the possession of the Company before the acquisition of the Dívání, continued subject to the authority of the Chief (*i.e.*, the representative) of the Bardwán family who was "immediately accountable to the Presidency." In 1772 the Committee of Revenue at the Presidency, who were the members of the Council of Warren Hastings, prepared the settlement of Hughli, but they did not interfere with Bardwan, where the lands were already let in farm, on leases of five years, which did not expire till the end of the Bengali year 1182.

Mahárání Bishnu Kumari, the widow of Maharaja Trailokya Chandra Bahadur, was in charge of the administration of the Bardwán ráj and also the entire district, from 1776 to 1779 A D.

In 1782 Mahárája Tej Chandra was entrusted with the management of the district, and remained in charge of it until the English Government appointed its own officers.

The municipal system of the Hindús has been so often described that we need not enter into it at large, suffice it to remind our readers that it was essentially democratic in its constitution. It formed a society complete and perfect in itself. The organism of the system was enclosed, so to speak, within its structure and framework. It had a *quasi*-independent character. It was an *imperium in imperio*. Each *grám* or village contained within itself the elements of a republic, consisting of a corporation of *rayats* owning all the land, and headed by an elected chief called the *Gráma-Adhikarí*. That officer was assisted by a registrar called *Gráma-Lekhak*. The municipality also consisted of professional persons representing all the agricultural and other crafts, namely, the *purohit* or priest, the poet, the *gurumahásay* or schoolmaster, the *kumár* or potter, the *kámar* or blacksmith, the *sutradhar* or

carpenter, the muchī or cobbler, the nāpī or barber and surgeon, the dhobī or washerman, the ahārī or water-carrier, &c. These village officers were supported by chākran lands and jāgīrs, or assignments of land held rent-free, besides fees paid by the rayats. The fees were not defined, but differed in different districts. The Grāma-Adhikārī was nominated by the rayats and appointed by the king. He was both an executive and a judicial officer. He was the head of the police, and, as such, was vested with full powers to call upon the people to assist him in ferreting out thieves in cases of robberies, &c. He also decided criminal and civil cases either in person or with the assistance of a panchayat. It will be perceived that every gram was a small government. A number of villages adjoining each other comprised a district or pargana, presided over by an officer styled Des-Adhikārī, assisted by a registrar or clerk called Des-Lehkak. The Des-Adhikārī had to supervise the concerns of all the villages of the parganā—as the Grāma-Adhikārī managed those of his village. The Muhammadans found this system in its full vigour. They accepted it, and founded their revenue administration on it. That administration would have been inextricably confused, and would have most probably broken down if they had disturbed it. They availed themselves of the great influence of the Grāma-Adhikārī and other village officers to collect the revenue, and to reconcile the rayat to his jot. They converted the Des-Adhikārīs into zamīndars, and made them responsible not only for the revenue, but also for the peace of the district in their charge. This was not a change in the position and functions, but simply in the title of the Des-Adhikārī. Thus it will be seen that the zamīndar was not simply a middle-man or tax-gatherer.

It is, however, a common but egregious mistake to suppose that the zamīndars were mere middlemen, whose function was to collect rents from the rayat. During the Hindū régime the Des-Adhikārīs were vested with large police and judicial powers. They represented the people. They were moreover essentially the Lords-Lieutenant of their districts. Though they were nominated by the people, and their appointment was confirmed by the king, yet their office was generally hereditary. The Muhammadans, on taking possession of the country, confirmed their rights and privileges, and recognised the inheritable quality of the tenure of their office, as is shown by their never conferring, except under extraordinary circumstances, sanads on outsiders, to the prejudice of the heirs. Though representatives of Government, yet they were the chiefs of the people. The Muhammadans found and confirmed them as such by sanads. Those sanads did not create, they only recognised existing rights. They were conferred only on the principal zamīndars, such as those of Nator, Naddea, Dinapur, Bardwān

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&c, who were virtually Viceroys within the limits of their respective jurisdictions. The great majority of the zamíndárs, however, succeeded according to the law and usages of the country, their names being only enrolled in the Náma járí book. The Muhammadans further conferred on them responsible and lucrative offices by sanads. They made them Ziládárs or Viceroys, Fauzdárs or Superintendents of Police, Kazís or Judges, Amalgírs or Revenue Collectors, Kotwáls or Police Inspectors.

Hence zamíndárs were not mere contractors or collectors of revenue, but hereditary lords of their districts. Of this position the history of the Bardwan ráj affords ample proof. The British Government recognised them as such after a series of investigations into the respective rights of the rayats, zamíndárs, and rulers. In 1777, when the Court of Directors assumed the direct management of affairs, the then Governor-General, Warren Hastings, and his colleagues formed themselves into a committee for forming fiscal regulations, and a Board of Revenue was constituted for supervising the fiscal affairs of this country. The Governor-General appointed local European officers denominated "Collectors," and vested them with authority to contract for the public revenue for five years as a temporary arrangement. He also appointed a committee consisting of two Europeans and several intelligent and experienced native revenue officers, for the purpose of collecting information on the rights and condition of the rayats and zamíndárs as a preliminary step to a fixed valuation—a permanent revenue settlement, having for its object the "fixing of the deeds by which the rayats hold their lands and pay their rents, and limiting certain bounds and defences against the authority of the zamíndár." But the hereditary chiefship of the zamíndárs was fully recognised by Warren Hastings, who had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the working of the institutions of the country. His object, as expressed by himself, was to fix the demands on the cultivators, and to secure to them the perpetual and undisturbed possession of their lands, and to guard them against arbitrary exactions. The periodical revenue settlements were at first effected with zamíndárs for 1777-78-79 and 1780. The revenues were afterwards farmed out to them in consideration of a specific amount, the non-payment of which was visited with confiscation of their property. This arrangement resulted in the sale of several zamíndáris. The evil attracted the notice of Parliament, and called forth the Act 24 Geo III, cap 25, "charging the Company to inquire into and remedy it." Meantime Warren Hastings had left the country and was succeeded by Sir John Macpherson. This was in 1784-5. In 1785 Mr James Grant wrote an historical sketch of the revenues of Bengal, in which he noticed a work which had been

recently published by Mr Francis, entitled "Original Minutes of the Governor-General and Council, 1776, with a plan for the settlement of the revenue of Bengal", and urged the necessity of instituting a full inquiry into the rights of zamíndárs—an inquiry which had been deprecated by Mr Francis, apparently for no other reason than that it had been proposed by Warren Hastings. He says—"To define the rights and privileges of zamíndárs of India, forming the only intermediate class of territorial subjects existing between the prince and peasantry, would be in truth to distinguish also those of the two latter descriptions of persons by marking the common boundaries of all in the chain of mutual dependence" He also combated the idea that the zamíndárs are the proprietors of the land, and maintained that the sovereign was the virtual proprietor In 1788 Mr Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, put forth his celebrated minute on the rights of the zamíndárs and talukdars It gives an historical sketch of the administration of the Muhammadan revenue system from the time of the illustrious Akbar to the conquest of this country by the British He successfully controverted the opinion that the sovereign was the proprietor of the soil, and conclusively proved the hereditary character of the zamíndárs At length the Marquis of Cornwallis effected the permanent settlement, which has been lauded by some as a constitution, as the Magna Charta of the country, and condemned by others as an abnegation of the rights of the rayats The author of it recorded his opinion as follows—"In raising a revenue to answer public exigencies, we ought to be careful to interfere as little as possible with those sources from which the wealth of the subject is derived The attention of Government ought, therefore, to be directed to render assessment upon the land as little burdensome as possible This is to be accomplished only by fixing it The proprietor will thus have some inducement to improve his lands, and as his profits will increase in proportion to his exertions, he will gradually become better able to discharge the public revenue"

The vast estates of Bardwán were brought within the beneficent operation of Regulation I of 1793 The Mahárajá Tej Chandra entered into an agreement dated 21st Srában 1195 with Government, promising to pay regularly the revenue amounting to Rs 40,15,109-2 "according to the statement of collectors which has been adjusted at the Présidency"—and also Rs 1,93,721 for *pulbandí* or repairs of embankments But the benefits of the Permanent Settlement were not fully reaped by the rāj, owing to careless management It fell into arrears, and was disorganised, so much so that the mother of the then Mahárajá, Rání Bishnu Kumari, compelled him to execute a *kabálá*, or deed of sale, assigning over the estate to her Another

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cause of the disorganisation of the estate was its being parcelled out to a large number of *ijáradárs*, the *járas* extending from five to ten years. Most of these *ijáradárs* withheld payment, and were put in jail, but they were liberated after a certain time under promise of paying their rents by instalments. The inevitable result of this subinfeudation was the accumulation of arrears of the Government demand. The then *Mahárája* was summoned to the Board, and was threatened with the forfeiture of his *zamíndáris*, but to no purpose. At last *Munshí*, afterwards *Raja*, Nava Krishna Dev was appointed *crook sajoal*, but he could do nothing. The Collector of Bardwán suggested the sale of the Bardwán *zamíndári* by *lot bandís* as the only way of recovering the arrears of revenue. The Board ordered *lot bandís* to be prepared, and the Collector submitted them. In 1204, corresponding to 1797, the Board commenced selling portions of the estate. Each lot consisted of several villages ascertained from the *Bilá Bandí* papers of the *ijaradars* filed in the Collectorate.

The principal purchasers of the lots sold by the Board were Dwarká Nath Singh of Singhhar, Chhaku Singh of Bhástará, the *Mukharjis* of Janai, the *Banajis* of Telinipará and others. Some of them had been *ijáradárs*, and were fully acquainted with the resources of the lots, while others had been in the service of the *Maharajá*, and from their association with the *sadr* and *mufassal amlá*, knew the ins and outs of the properties.

Thus was laid the foundation of the landed aristocracy of Bardwán and Hughli. While the sales were going on from quarter to quarter, the Bardwán family got alarmed at the dismemberment of the estate, the *Maharajá* Tej Chandra bought in several lots in the names of his *amlá* and dependents.

In 1205, while these compulsory sales were being effected, *Raní Bishnu Kumári* died. She was an energetic woman and was endowed with a large capacity for business. She might have ultimately succeeded in saving the estate if her life had been prolonged. *Mahárájá* Tej Chandra resumed the management of the *raj*. One of his first acts was to endeavour to arrest the ruin of the *raj* by giving away the lands in perpetual leases. These leases created in point of fact *pattanis* before the *pattani* regulation was enacted. The system gradually extended, and its extension was facilitated by Regulation V of 1812, removing the restrictions on the maximum period of *ijáras* for ten years, and affirming the right of *zamíndars* to let out lands for any term of years. In 1825 there was scarcely any land under *khás* management. Nearly the entire estate, except Bankura or West Bardwán, was let out in *pattani*. *Bánkura* being jungle mahal was not considered susceptible of cultivation. The *Mahárájá* tempted his *amlá* and others to take in *pattanis* for a song. The *pattaniárs* let out their *táluka*

to *darpattanídárs*, the *darpattanídárs*, in like manner, let them out to *sepattanídárs*, and the latter to *chaharam-pattanídárs*.

The Maharájá used to let out in *pattanís* in auctions held in his *sadr kachárá*. Regular account sales were executed. In cases of arrears the *pattanís* were sold in *kachará*, by which process as much was recovered as could be had. These transactions were sometimes recognised and confirmed, and sometimes ignored and set aside by the revenue authorities. Great irregularities and confusion ensued, and loss to both parties was the inevitable consequence.

At last the idea of legalising *pattanís* dawned on the mind of Rádhágovinda Rái, the *Díwán* of the ráj. It was approved by the Maharájá Tej Chandra and his son Piatáp Chandra. The latter came down to Calcutta and suggested it to the Board. The Board at once recognised the propriety and feasibility of the plan, and under instructions from the Government deputed Mr H. T. Prinsep to Bardwán to consult with the Maharájá with a view to frame a law for facilitating the letting out into *pattanís*, and selling the same. Mr Prinsep came to Bardwán and remained there two weeks. The result of his inquiries was the celebrated Regulation VIII of 1819. It was passed on the 3rd September 1819, corresponding to the 19th Bhádra 1226, declaring *pattaní* tenures valid, transferable, and answerable for debt.

"The tenures known by the name of *putnee talooks*, as described in the preamble to this Regulation, shall be deemed to be valid tenures in perpetuity, according to the terms of the engagement under which they are held. They are heritable by their conditions, and it is hereby further declared, that they are capable of being transferred by sale, gift, or otherwise, at the discretion of the holder as well as answerable for his personal debts, and subject to the process of the Courts of Judicature in the same manner as other real property."

Pattaní talukdars were also vested with the right of letting out their *táluks* in any manner they might deem most conducive to their interest, and the engagements so entered into by them were declared legal and binding.

This law proved an inestimable boon to the *talukdárs*, and was the salvation of the Bardwán ráj. Although, under careful *khas* management, the ráj might have reaped a larger profit than it does now, yet judging from the analogy of other large estates, like those of Nator and Naddea, and the circumstances incidental to landed property in this country, it could not have been otherwise perpetuated.

It is supposed that if the *pattaní* system had not prevailed, the income of the ráj would have soon risen to 60 lakhs per annum, but it must be remembered that the *sadr jamá* of the Nátor ráj was above 52 lakhs. But how has *khas* management operated? It has

reduced the family to nothing. It is now divided into two branches—the elder and the younger—the *bara* and the *chhota tarafs*, and the former branch has only an income of two lákhs per annum.

As Hughli forms an integral part of the *ráj*, a few particulars regarding its past condition may not be uninteresting.

Soon after the establishment of the British supremacy, there were in Hughli a magistrate, a judge, and a customs collector, yet in point of fact that district formed part and parcel of Bardwán. It was fiscally dependent on Bardwán. All the revenues derived from Hughli were paid direct to the Collector of Bardwán, there being only an assistant collector to take charge of the rents of small *almidárs* before transmission to Bardwán. There was a small number of *malguzardárs* in *parganás* Arsun, Puran, and Boroa who formerly paid their rents to the Collector of Krishnagar, but the payment was transferred to the Collector of Bardwán. The large estate of Darbasiní, which formerly belonged to a Mughul *zamindár* was also transferred within the local limits of Bardwán.

The district was divided into 18 *thanas*, each of which embraced a large area was situated at a long distance from the *sadr* station, and was superintended by a *darogá* who was virtually irresponsible and exercised absolute authority. A *daroga* of Jahánabad was in the habit of instigating dacoity, for the purpose of filling his pockets and earning a good name as a detective officer. Having a secret understanding with the dacoits he first led them to perpetrate the robbery and then took down the confessions of a few of them. He *challáned* these men to the Magistrate with their confessions and with some brass utensils and old clothes—himself appropriating the lion's share, consisting of jewels and other valuable articles. A portion, however, of the *daroga's* gains went to the support of the families of those dacoits who had confessed. When batch after batch of such dacoits were forwarded to the Magistrate, and when they repeated their confessions and were convicted and punished by the Sessions Judge, the adulation of the committing officer for the detective capacity of the *daroga* knew no bounds. *Darogás* received *Neknámi* parwanas, and his valuable services were brought to the notice of the Superintendent of Police. The office of a *darogá* was generally sold to the highest bidder by the *Sarishtadár* and other *Sadri Amils*, sometimes as much as Rs 10,000 being paid by the successful candidate for *darogaship*. The *Darogás* recouped themselves by levying a subscription called *Agamaní* from among the *Mandals* and *Gomáshtas*. The officer who succeeded in a great measure in removing these abuses was Mr D C Smith. He was appointed Assistant Magistrate of Hughli in 1820, and rose to the office of Judge and Magistrate in 1826. He was an energetic and honest officer, who directed his best exertions to the task of

improving the district. He built the jail and *kacháris* from the materials of the old fort, of which particular mention will be made hereafter. Mr Smith also built the *pakka* ghát called after his name. Being a cosmopolitan in religion, he rebuilt the mosque called "Say-yid Pír's Asthana." He planted lines of trees before the *kacháris*, and also excavated a tank on the spot. He also re-excavated the old tanks, and constructed several *pakka* roads. He, in fact, converted Hughli from an old third-rate into a model town. In his early days Mr Smith was imbued with certain prejudices against the zamíndárs. In his cold-weather tours he proclaimed by beat of "tomtom," that all proprietors of land and houses should produce their pattás for his examination and confirmation. This proceeding was quite illegal and arbitrary, and was a source of great oppression to zamíndárs. It was, therefore, quashed by the Provincial court on appeal. Mr Smith afterwards became the firm friend of the zamíndárs, settling their family disputes in an amicable way, and thereby preventing endless litigation. He became the "má-bap"—the earthly providence of the district. His decisions, although not in exact conformity with the requirements of technical law, were calculated to render substantial justice. Dacoity having increased in his time, Mr Smith established *ghátis* and *pháris* or police sub-stations supplying the *ghátidárs* and *pháridárs* with spears and mashals. The *badmáshes* of the village were locked up in the sub-stations at night. The *gomashtás* and *mandals* were enjoined to keep the watch. Mr Smith dealt sharply and severely with the dacoits. He was not squeamish in taking down their confessions, and it must be confessed, did not hesitate to stretch a point to ensure their conviction. If he had lived in the days when Mr Theobald raised a cry against confession by intimidation and other coercive means, Mr Smith's success as a police functionary would have been very problematical. But he thoroughly knew the state of the country in his time, and he was then the right man in the right place. During the administration of Mr Smith, the Dutch Settlement of Chinsurah was purchased by the English for 10 lakhs of rupees. The transaction was conducted by two Commissioners *viz*, Governor Overlong, on the part of the Dutch, and Mr Smith on the part of the English. It was completed in 1822.

In 1833, Sir (then Mr) Frederick James Halliday, succeeded Mr Smith as Officiating Judge and Magistrate. Finding dacoity very rife in the suburbs of the town, he got half a-dozen soldiers from the Chinsurah depôt, and used to patrol with them at night, but he did not succeed in putting down dacoity.

About this time the offices of judge and magistrate were separated; Mr Brownlow was appointed magistrate, and Mr Barlow Judge of Hughli.

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In 1820 the separate revenue collectorate of Hughli was created, and Mr Saunders was appointed the first collector. He was succeeded by Mr W H Belli who remained in office for more than twenty years. Records, Tahut papers, &c, were brought in 1827 from the Bardwán Collectorate. Proprietors of zamindáris purchased from the Bardwán ráj, commenced paying revenue to the Hughli Collector. Thus was Hughli sundered from Bardwán and formed into a separate district.

The cyclical changes in the Bardwan raj have been something marvellous. It has suffered and benefited from alternate inundation and drought, as well as from seasonable rains. For instance, for twenty years, from 1190 to 1210, B.E., it suffered from heavy rain and no rains. All classes, from the rayat to the tálukdar, were great losers. Then from 1211 to 1230 the calamity ceased, and the value of land increased manifold. The pattaní táluks sold for twenty to thirty times their annual income. Again, in 1230 there was a great inundation, still known as *the* inundation of "30." At Bardwan it commenced on the night of the 26th September, 1823. Incalculable mischief was caused by the bursting of the bándhs of the Damodar, Hughli, and minor streams. A correspondent of the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* thus describes the inundation—"Picture to yourself a flat country, *completely* under water running with a force apparently irresistible and carrying with it dead bodies, choppers of houses, palankeens and wreck of every description." It lasted for three days, communication was cut off, and the owners of *pakka* houses took refuge on the roofs. For many *kos* the thatched and mud houses, as well as hundreds and thousands of trees were prostrated. Such trees as had withstood the ravages of the flood, formed the resting-places of men. The area embraced by the flood commenced from Bah, and extended twenty-five miles. The villages situated on the west, as well as on the east bank of the Hughli, especially the former, were submerged. The height of water in these villages was at first about three feet, they were navigable by boats during the continuance of the flood. On the 29th September, a boat which had started across the country from Calcutta, and gone all the way full sail, arrived at Bardwan. A budgerow striking against a buoy instantly foundered and every soul on board perished. The loss of life was immense. The inundation rose, and at its height, on the 2nd October, the water was about seven feet. The crops were destroyed by the water, the houses were submerged, and ultimately carried away by the flood, the people were foodless, insomuch that parents sold their offspring for a mouthful of rice. The landmarks, distinguishing the *jots* of the rayats, being swept away, gave rise to great confusion and endless litigation. The owners of properties were converted into claimants for land.

which had been in their possession and that of their forefathers for generations. The land-holding and the agricultural community were overtaken, so to speak, by a cataclysm.

In 1840 there was a salt inundation from which Mandalghát and the southern part of Hughli were covered with saline matter. Land again deteriorated and sold for a song. Between 1240 and 1250, no less than two hundred *pattani* taluks, and a hundred zamindáris changed hands.

The soil of Bardwán proper is high and dry, and the rainfall is smaller than in Hughli, which is more fertile in certain products than the former. A bigha in Hughli produces fifteen maunds of rice, whereas a bigha in Bardwán produces ten maunds. The annual rent per bigha of rice-producing land in Hughli is three rupees, whereas in Bardwán it is two rupees.

In this ráj a rayat's holding would be considered very large if it were to consist of more than 100 bighas, and very small if it were to consist of less than 10 bighas. There are, however, some rayats who hold more than 100 bighás, and, on the other hand, several who hold one or two bighas only. Although the latter are called rayats, they earn their livelihood, generally, by acting as *kurfá prayás* or day-labourers, or by working as *krisháns*. A rayat, whose family consists of four or five persons, gains a comfortable living if he has a holding of 15 bighás. One pair of oxen usually cultivates 15 bighas of land, but a pair of superior oxen cultivates from 20 to 22 bighas. A rayat with a holding of 15 bighas is rather poorer than a respectable retail shopkeeper, and his holding does not enable him to live so well as an income of Rs 8 a month would. It may be questioned whether steam-ploughs would answer in this country. They penetrate deep, and turn up sub-soils which would not be adapted to at least rice, the staple product. The poorer rayats are generally in debt: in most cases the debt is contracted for the cost of cultivation, and liquidated within the year after the harvest is reaped. The interest charged by the mahájans is often heavy.

By far the largest number of rayats have acquired rights of occupancy under Act X of 1859, not less than 80 per cent. of the rayats of this ráj have rights of occupancy. This argues a state of society different from what exists in several countries in Europe, notably in England, where a tenant after 50 years of occupancy is liable to be ousted. Before the passing of Act X of 1859, scarcely one per cent of the rayats had their tenures protected from enhancement of rent, but after the passing of that Act the Courts have declared in about 20 per cent of the cases that have been determined, after a contested judicial investigation, that the tenures were protected from enhancement. There are thousands of tenures the legal status of which has not yet been determined, and will not be determined unless one of the interested parties seek for a

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decision in a Court of Justice. In the present state of things, it might be fairly estimated that about 4 per cent of the rayats have succeeded in having their tenures declared protected from enhancement. The only class of proprietors who have no zamíndárs above them, are the lákhrájdárs or the holders of rent-free lands, most of these rent-free tenures were bestowed by the Maharájás on meritorious Brahmans. One-fourth of the cultivated area of this ráj is owned by numerous lákhrájdárs under valid and invalid grants, and, in several cases, under no grants at all. The quantity of land in the possession of each lakhrájdár varies from 1 bighá to 200 bighas and upwards. In the case of small and poor lakhrájdárs, they own, occupy and cultivate their own hereditary lands, and there are more than 400 of such persons in the district, but the rayats have either let their lands, or they cultivate them by hired labour. An income of Rs 10 a month would enable a rayat to support comfortably a household of moderate size.

There is not much spare land in this ráj. During the last few years large quantities of land have been out of cultivation here and there on account of the heavy mortality among the rayats by the epidemic fever, but these lands, if in a village, are disposed of and rented as soon as the condition of the village improves. There is no tenure similar to utbandí or jamaí tenure here. The tenures in this ráj are favourable to cultivators, inasmuch as the majority of the tenants have rights of occupancy. The following are the tenures between the zamíndar and the actual cultivator —

Pattaní	Permanent and fixed proprietary tenure, the rent of which is payable to the zamíndár
Darpattaní	Do do, the rent of which is payable to the pattanídar
Sepattaní	.. Do do, the rent of which is payable to the darpattanídar
Mukarrarí Ijárá.	Permanent and fixed proprietary tenure, the rent of which is payable to the zamíndár, pattanídar, darpattanídar and sepattanídar, by whom the tenure was created, but the rent of which is not realisable in the summary way in which the rent of pattaní, darpattaní and sepattaní can be realised under Reg VIII of 1819
Miádí Ijárá	... Proprietary lease for a limited time
Mukarrarí tenure.	Hereditary and fixed rayatí tenure.
Maurúsí tenure	Hereditary rayatí tenure
Occupancy tenure	This tenure is a creation of Act X of 1859. The right has attached itself by the Act to all the tenants-at-will who have been in possession of their tenures for more than 12 years without

any express written agreements Formerly, with the exception of mukarrarí and maurúf tenants, only khúdkasht tenants, i.e., those who cultivated the lands of the village in which they lived, had occupancy rights, while all páikásht tenants were tenants-at-will

Thika tenure Tenancy-at-will
Kurfá tenure Sub-rayatí tenure

The following are the different varieties of land in this ráj, with their rates of rent —

Present rate of rent per bigha

Bastu	Homestead land	Rs	10	0	0
Udbástu	Land around the homestead	"	7	8	0
Bázár	Market land	"	16 to 50	0	0
Bagán	Garden land	"	5 to 8	0	0
Pukur	Ponds, tanks	"	2 to 5	0	0

The agricultural lands are divided into two grand classes—the soná and the sálí Aus paddy, potatoes, pulse, mustard, sesame and sugarcane are cultivated on sona or dangá lands, while áman or hamantik paddy, bora paddy, and jute are cultivated in sálí lands These lands are sub-divided into four classes with reference to their qualities. These sub-divisions with their average rate of rent at three different times are stated below —

	Present rate of rent	Rate of rent 20 years ago	At about the time of the Permanent Settlement
Soná Awwal, i.e., 1st class Sona	Rs 4 to 6 0 0	Rs 2 8 0	Rs 1 0 0
Soná Doem, i.e., 2nd class Sona	" 3 0 0	" 2 0 0	" 0 12 0
Soná Soem, i.e., 3rd class Sona	" 2 4 0	" 1 8 0	" 0 8 0
Soná Chahram, i.e., 4th class Soná	" 1 12 0	" 1 0 0	" 0 6 0
Sálí Awwal, i.e., 1st class Sálí	" 4 0 0	" 2 8 0	" 1 0 0
Sálí Doem, i.e., 2nd class Sálí	" 3 0 0	" 2 0 0	" 0 12 0
Sálí Soem, i.e., 3rd class Sálí	" 2 0 0	" 1 8 0	" 0 8 0
Sálí Chahram, i.e., 4th class Sálí	" 1 8 0	" 1 0 0	" 0 6 0
Mulberry and Tobacco lands	" 6 to 10 0 0		
Sugarcane lands	" 4 to 8 0 0		

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Except in soils newly brought under cultivation, manure is not generally used for the cultivation of paddy, but it is largely used on these estates for the cultivation of potatoe, sugarcane, mustard, pulse, &c Cow dung, earth from the bottom of tanks, and ashes are used as manure for rice fields, and castor-seed cakes are used for manuring potatoe and sugarcane lands The quality of manure required for a bighá of land and the cost incurred for it as well as the different kinds of manure are given below —

	Quantity required for manuring one bighá	Cost incurred for manuring one bighá	
Cowdung	5 to 6 mds	8 annas	Every 2nd year
Ashes	4 to 5 "	10 "	Every 3rd "
Earth taken from old mud walls	10 "	4½ "	ditto
Pank — The putrid vegetable sediment deposited in ponds	16 "	4½ "	ditto
Castor seed cakes	3 "	Rs 3 8	Every crop
Mustard seed cakes	3 "	, 3 0	ditto

Potatoe and sugarcane crops are commonly irrigated here In fact without irrigation these crops do not grow, mustard and brinjáls also require irrigation, and paddy and other crops are irrigated only when there is a scanty fall of rain There are no irrigation wells here as in the Upper Provinces, and the water required is taken from the nearest khál, river, nala, or dobá The cost of labour for irrigating a bighá of paddy land is from nine to ten annas, and for sugarcane land usually six rupees Where water is to be bought for irrigation, an additional cost of four annas per bigha for rice land and of one rupee per bighá for sugarcane land is incurred The husbandmen fully understand the advantages of leaving lands fallow, and of rotation of crops On these estates lands are not left fallow for a whole year or two as in some of the other districts, all that is done is that, after the aus paddy crop has been reaped, the lands are left fallow for six months, in order that they may produce a good crop of potatoes As to rotation of crops, the cultivation of potatoes is alternated with that of sugarcane and flax, and the cultivation of the aus paddy with that of potatoes, pulses, mustard and barley In years of drought the husbandmen buy water from those of their neighbours who have tanks near their fields, and also draw water from kháls and rivers where there are any The zamíndars also allow them to irrigate their fields from the tanks which they hold khás These, however, do very little good, owing to the absence of a sufficient number of canals and tanks, and also owing to the heavy cost of labour for

irrigation, and to the rude means for drawing water which prevail in the mufassal. Much good would be done to the district if it were to be intersected with a sufficient number of artificial water-courses. These would not only improve the sanitation of the district by draining it, but also place within the reach of the cultivators a resource on which they might fall back in years of drought.

We have entered into these details because we believe that land, its cultivation and the revenue derived therefrom and the legislation connected with it, constitute the most important element of material well being in this country.

Although Bardwan and Hughli are essentially agricultural districts, yet manufactures have largely been, and still are to some extent, carried on. Mr Holwell in his tract names as the principal towns of the raj *Burdwan, Kripoy, Radnagore Dewangunge and Ballpughur*, and adds "these used to supply the East India Companies with the following sort ments of piece goods, viz dooreas, terrandum, toosies, soot-romals, gueras, sesters-ags, tanton rupees, cheridreics, chilys custas and dosoota, the capital Burdwan may be properly called the centre of the trade of the provinces, in tranquil times this place affords an annual large vend for the valuable staples of lead, copper, broadcloth, tin, pepper and tootanaque. The *Porbuh* merchants from *Delhy* and *Agra* resorted yearly to this great mart and would again if peace was established in the country—they purchased the above staples either with money or in barter for opium, tincal, saltpetre and horses." The principal centres of commerce and manufactures are now Chandrakona, Khirpai, Kalna Chandernagar, and Baidyabati. In Katwa, Rámjibanpur, Dipadarhatá, Ghatál, Bhadreswar, and Chandrakona dhotis and chadars were at one time largely manufactured, but the famine of 1867 decimated the population of that part and almost put a stop to the manufacture. Those whom the famine had spared, migrated to Calcutta, and were fed in *Annachhatras*. Khirpai was likewise the seat of the manufacture of cotton fabrics the manufacture was formerly a Government monopoly, and was superintended by a resident and a diwán. Rámjibanpur is noted for brass utensils. Dipadarhata was the seat for silk filaments. Ghatál was, and still is, the centre of an extensive trade in salt, and is also the seat of the manufacture of silk filaments. Bhadreswar is one of the largest marts in the country. Chandernagar is another mart. Baidyabati is a great emporium for vegetables.

Besides the abovementioned places, the following may be mentioned —

Bainchi
Manoharpur

is noted for brass works
" silk filaments

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Koim	}	. . are noted for cotton fabrics.
Rajbalhát		
Máyapur		
Begampur		
Krishnapur		
Uttarpára	}	" " jute and hemp rope.
Konnagar		
Bandipur		
Serampur	}	" " mats and baskets
Sukhandiya		
	}	is noted for pottery, prized for its durability and gracefulness, and fruits and vegetables supplied to the Baidyabáti market

Raw sugar, indigo and raw silk are extensively exported to the Calcutta markets, and thence to Europe. In the absence of official returns or any reliable statistics we cannot give any authentic account of the quantity, but from the several enquiries we have made, we are led to think that the value of sugar alone amounts to nearly a crore annually.

The distillation of rum from molasses is rapidly increasing from the great demand in the English market, but formerly only one distillery existed, and that at Bandel. Now there are several distilleries, the principal one being in the heart of the city of Bardwan.

A majority of the manufacturers carry on their business with their own or borrowed money, and on their own account. There are, however, several capitalists who invest money in different manufactories, and take upon themselves the risk of business as they enjoy its profits. The social condition of the manufacturers, like that of the rayats, varies with the extent of their business. In the majority of cases, where the manufacturer wants to borrow money to carry on business, the money-lender, instead of advancing money, buys on his own account the raw materials for manufacture and gives them to the manufacturer. He thus acquires a lien on the manufactured articles, and not unfrequently, he finds out customers for the same, and as soon as the articles are sold he gets back the money advanced, with interest which varies from 25 to 36 per cent.

There is another class of manufacturers on a small scale who have since died out in this part of the country. Formerly the women of the poorer classes of Bráhmans, as well as of well-to-do artisans and manufacturers spun a very fine description of silk and cotton thread, which was sold to the weavers of Dhoniákháli and other places for the manufacture of "dhotis" and "sáris." These dhotis and sáris weighed usually no more than three or four tolahs each, and were very much valued by the wealthy Hindús.

The chief articles of trade are rice, silk, indigo, jute, hemp, cotton, filaries, potatoes, molasses, and culinary vegetables. The only occasions on which trade is carried on by means of religious festivals in this ráj are the *Dol Játá* in the Bengálí month of Chaitra, and the *Rás Játá* in Kártik at Mahesh and Ballabhpur near Serámpur, and Tarkeswar. The trade is otherwise carried on by permanent markets.

Whenever accumulations of capital exceed Rs. 10,000 or 15,000, it is generally invested in landed property by those who have no such property. This statement would apply to more than ninety cases out of a hundred. Owners of capital who cannot boast of any large amount, and a few of those who come under the former class, invest the money in Government Securities or lend it to others. Money is never hoarded in this part of the country, under ordinary circumstances. In small transactions, when some article is pawned, the rate of interest varies, according as the condition of the borrower is solvent or otherwise, i.e., according as the risk of recovery is small or great, from 12 to 24 per cent per annum. In large transactions, when there is a mortgage of moveable property, the rate is usually 12 per cent. per annum. In large transactions where lands or houses are mortgaged, the rate varies from 9 to 12 per cent. The rate on petty agricultural advances is from 18 to 25 per cent per annum, and the same rate of interest obtains when there is a lien on the crops. If a person buys an estate paying revenue to Government, there would be a fair return for his money, if the purchase-money does not exceed 16 times the existing net profits of the estate. There are no banking establishments, nor are the shopkeepers, the persons who usually lend money. It is the small capitalists, and, in several cases, the landholders themselves that chiefly lend money to the rayats, manufacturers, and others. Banks or branch banks in mufassal towns are a desideratum.

A few deer and wild hogs are to be found in Chandrakona. Elephants, tigers, wolves, and buffaloes are not indigenous, though now and then met with, but Báukura or West Bardwán abounds with game.

The *ráj* consists of estates lying in Bardwán, Hughli, Calcutta, Krishnagar, Bankurá, Midnapur, Cattack, Bírghúm, Murshidábád, Dinájpur, and Dárling. They extend over hundreds of square miles, and such of them as are revenue-paying bring to the Government an annual income of nearly thirty-one lakhs and a half.

The Bardwán ráj has always been famous for charity, but it was not invariably a discriminating charity. Money used to be lavished on nautches, poojahs, shrads and ceremonies. Mahárájá Tej Chandra was the first to realise the true nature and uses of charity. He opened out, at an immense cost, the road from Bardwán to

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Kálná, extending over thirty miles. He also bore the whole expense of building the bridge at Magrá, about five miles to the north of Hughl, and made several improvements in the town of Bardwán and other places. He excavated tanks and established asylums and schools.

The Mahárájá had a son, Pratáp Chandra, whose name has already been mentioned in connection with the enactment of the *pattaní* regulation, but he died during the life-time of his father. Several years after that event, a pretender appeared claiming the raj, but his claim, after a searching investigation, was dismissed by the Civil Court, several persons of the highest respectability, such as Bábu Dwárka Náth Tagor, Dr Wise, and others, who had been subpoenaed to identify him, swore to his being an impostor. The case created great sensation, and involved a far larger amount than the Tichborne trial.

In the year A D 832, Maharája Dhiráj Tej Chandra Bahádur died, leaving to his adopted son, the present Mahárajá, the colossal wealth, both landed and funded which had been amassed. On the latter succeeding to the ráj, in A D 1833 the English Government honoured him with a khilat in due form. He has proved a most enlightened representative of the landed aristocracy of the most enlightened province.

One of the first acts of the present Mahárájá was the establishment of a free Anglo-Vernacular school in Bardwán, where five hundred boys gather daily to receive the benefits of English and Bengali education. It is a first class institution and is efficiently conducted by an instructive staff of educated Hindús. The Mahárája has also established hospitals and dispensaries for the sick poor of Bardwán and Kálna. These institutions, as well as the other charities established and maintained by the Maharájá, attest his benevolence, and afford an example of enlightened liberality which should be emulated by other zamíndárs.

During the Santal Rebellion in 1855, the Maharája aided the military authorities in forwarding and supplying stores and means of transport. He also kept a line of communication by sawars.

During the more important and terrible outbreak of the Sepoy Army in 1857, the Mahárája did everything in his power to strengthen the hands of Government and to give every aid that was considered necessary, he placed elephants and bullock-carts at the disposal of the authorities, kept the roads between Bardwán and Bírbbhúm, and Bardwán and Katwa open, so that there was no interruption of intelligence between the seat of Government and the anxiously-watched stations of Bírbbhúm and Barbampur, he entertained a guard of European sailors for the defence of the town of Bardwán. He supplied firearms for the use of all European residents in that station, and set apart a por-

tion of the Rájbari for the accommodation of European residents in case of an outbreak

These services were acknowledged not only by the local authorities, but also by the Government of India, as well as that of England. The following is an extract from Mr Commissioner G H Young's letter to the Government of Bengal, dated Bardwán, the 2nd February, 1860 —

"I have myself seen and known, and my predecessors have also observed, the ready and willing co-operation which the Mahárájá has invariably, when called upon, given to the Government during the Santál insurrection. He did everything in his power to forward the troops, to give them supplies and carriage, and to keep up a constant and speedy communication for us. During the Mutiny I believe his heart was thoroughly with us. He did willingly and effectively all that was required of him, and would have done much more, I am satisfied, if it had been necessary. The Mahárájá, I need not tell His Honour, has large estates and a large revenue, and I believe him to be a very good landlord. For so extensive a proprietor he is seldom in the courts, and gives the officers of Government no trouble."

Believing all direct taxation to be opposed to the genius of the people, we have deprecated the income-tax from its inception by Mr Wilson, when there was a great deal in the circumstances of the country to justify it, down to the time of its re-imposition by Sir Richard Temple, when there is nothing to justify it. That the income tax has proved a prolific source of terrible oppression, does not admit of a moment's question, but the Mahárája, like several other enlightened zamíndars and merchants, thought that the exceptional circumstances engendered by the Sepoy Mutiny fully justified Mr Wilson in imposing the income-tax. He therefore gave his support to the Finance Minister. On this, the Council passed a Resolution, dated 4th May 1860, conveying their special thanks to the Mahárája. The Council said,—“This expression of sentiment supported by true and correct reasons, is entirely consistent with the Mahárája's well-known character for loyalty and fidelity, and proves that he properly comprehends the actual situation of affairs.”

In 1864, the Mahárájá was appointed an Additional Member of the Viceroy's Council for making laws, being the first native gentleman of Bengal who was so honoured. He continued in the office for three years.

During the Great Famine of 1867, the Mahárája established large Annachhatras, where he fed daily about 1,500 souls—men, women, and children. He dispensed to them rice, dál, vegetables, and fish, and he also provided milk for the babies. When better times arrived, and the paupers thought of returning home, they

were each supplied with a piece of wearing apparel and money sufficient to defray their travelling expenses

During the epidemic the Mahārājā contributed fifty thousand rupees for the relief of the fever-stricken population of the rāj. The Mahārājā, owing to the bulk of his estates being let out in *pattānī*, is not often brought into intimate and familiar contact with the rayats, but he nevertheless has a large influence over the destinies of a great number of the agricultural population and of the superior under-tenureholders. We are glad to be able to add that, in public repute, the testimony of the local authorities as to the paternal care of the Mahārājā for the interests and well-being of all who are in any way dependent on him, is more than deserved, and the records of the Courts show that the number of cases instituted by him for the recovery of his rights, is singularly small when compared with the magnitude of the estate. It is only fair to conclude that we have here one of those cases where both landlord and tenants appreciate the great truth that their interests are really identical, and from this happy state of affairs must always flow the same results—contentment and a certain amount of prosperity on the part of the rayats—increased resources and a pleasant consciousness of having deserved well of their country, on the part of the zamíndār

ART II—CHILDREN'S STORIES FOR GROWN-UP PEOPLE

1—*Misunderstood* By Florence Montgomery Sixth thousand.
1871

2—*The Fight at Dame Europa's School*

3—*Nonsense Songs, Stories, Botany and Alphabets* By
Edward Lear 1871

WHAT peculiar charm is it which accounts for the fascination exercised over all classes of minds by books such as those whose titles are at the head of this page, and for the sale by thousands of such simple literary delicacies—children's stories for the diversion not at all of the children to whom they seem to be addressed, but of grown men and women? Is it only, in one case, a reaction of taste from the richer diet of sensation novels, and, in another, the attractive force of allegory? Is it the delight of living over again in the luxury of children's nonsense, of following the abandoned flights of the child's imagination, such as are impossible to the maturer mind, or is there more in it than this? Why should the mere fact of its being clothed in this simple garb render so attractive to readers of every class, a very general and common-place view of the motives and feelings of the actors in the terrible drama which was played last year on the green boards of Europe, or a series of nonsense songs and nursery stories? Why should they appeal with such irresistible force to a thousand cultivated minds far more than to the childish ones for which they would at first sight appear to have been written? It may not be waste of time to trace some of the causes of this influence, and to examine some of the peculiar attractions of this beautiful bye-path of literature. Of the works which we have selected, all seem to have this in common, that the influence which they exercise is derived not from any intrinsic value in the 'moral' which they convey, not from startling incident or intricate plot, but mainly, if not solely, from the form into which they are thrown, from the fact that they reflect the innocent mood of childhood and are enveloped in its lisping language. And for our purpose perhaps, no better type could be taken than the choice sample of the class which is placed first on our list. A work of this exceptional nature seems to call for a combination of special qualities in its author which is sufficiently rare. It is not only the creative power of the writer of fiction, nor only a pure style and simple diction, which are required there must be a real insight into one of the subtlest and most mysterious

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phases of character, when, unformed though it is, the mind seems in many ways nearer than ever after to perfection, more than at any other time, till the moment of death, in accord with the unknown and unseen, and with all its attributes fresher from the pure fountains which are their source. And with this insight must be united a vigorous imagination, capable of comparing constantly each unfolding phase of the young character with the same in its after-development, a sense of humour too, to relish the supremely ludicrous situations which present themselves in child-life, without depreciating their reality. But more than all and rarer than all, the writer must have retained to mature years much of the child's real nature, a loving adherence to the simple affections of that beautiful age.

"Misunderstood" is a plain story of two curly-headed English boys of seven and four years old. There is no wandering for effect outside the simple occurrences of the simplest form of everyday life, no high romance, no excitement of scenes where the larger interests of life are at stake, and yet we venture to say that to a really cultivated mind no sensation novel ever appealed more powerfully than this tale of two children. It is a story of such simple and yet tragic pathos, that men will not let their sensitive wives read it, and men of no weak sentiment are not ashamed to shed tears over it themselves.

It is indeed professedly not a child's story. A child could no more understand the deep feeling which breathes through it than the plough-boy on the Yorkshire wolds can see anything to wonder at in the boundless circle of earth and sky and sea by which he is surrounded, poetry in the clouds which his plough turns up, or history in fossil fern or Roman blade. And as no child could understand, so we question whether any man could have written such a story, the charm of which is heightened by its being the powerful expression of a purely feminine view of a child's character, tinged throughout with that refined and tenderest sympathy for children which is given only to women. Florence Montgomery (she does not allow us to call her anything else) is not the first person who has read the mind of a child like a book and written it out for all to read. The thoughts which pass through David Copperfield's childish brain in church are as natural as those ascribed to little Humphrey Duncombe in the same situation, in the tale before us, but the authoress of "Misunderstood" has thought it worthwhile to concentrate her not insignificant powers on the full delineation of a phase of character which Dickens from time to time depicts with a more masculine touch, with more, as we think, of artificial sentiment, and therefore with less force. She has here brought out into relief all the points of a child's character which are most winning to us all, and yet

which few would have either the insight to detect or the power to delineate. Hence her work has the value of a poem, and she proves herself a genuine artist in that she is able to give expression to some of the exhaustless modifications of human feeling, deep and familiar to all, but without the magic touch of art speechless.

And in tracing these, she has not failed to recognise and value the reality and intensity of the feelings which she depicts—a depth and reality lightly overlooked by most of those in charge of children—or, if noticed, regarded only as the passing effect of the disproportion between the unformed mind and the world on which it acts. But the loves and hatreds of children, transient as they are, are deep and true with the vigour of unmixed and unthwarted feeling, and we know nothing in the after-character to compare with the pure integrity of the feelings which govern the heart of a child: the brave truthfulness, the tender indiscriminating sympathy, the devoted love, the profound and picturesque religious sentiment. Jealousy too, and hatred, and even the bitterness of despair find their place in a life in which a mushroom or a butterfly is an absorbing interest, and solitude the most haunting dread.

Without robbing the story of its charm by offering a bare analysis of its simple plot, let us follow the delineation of some of the most prominent traits of childish character which are here seized and fixed on the canvass. Before all and embracing all, comes what we call the simplicity of a child, that fearless truthfulness which confers on childhood a more than imperial power, which accepts unhesitatingly what it is told, attributing in its sublime ignorance of the world the same guilelessness to all, which has no reason to question, no need for what in after-life becomes a high virtue—to cavil and doubt and be content with nothing short of demonstration, and which can no more understand irony or sarcasm, those bitter fruits of contact with life, than the innocent palate can relish the artificial stimulus required by the man's vitiated taste.

Sir Everard Duncombe of Wareham Abbey, the father of Humphrey and Miles, is left a widower at the outset of the story. Sitting at dinner one evening with his lost wife's sailor-brother, and with his little boys on each side of him, Sir Everard, who is Member of Parliament for the county, announces that he is going to give a dinner to the 'aborigines,' that is, to his country constituents. The boys are of course all eagerness to know the meaning of such long words, and accept with simple delight uncle Charlie's assurance that 'aborigines' means 'wild men of the woods, half human beings, half animals.' Lightly spoken and as lightly forgotten by the speaker, the words sink deep into the childish minds. For days in the intervals of lessons, and night after night in the

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little nursery, nothing is thought or talked of but the coming feast of wild men. The scene which follows is among the best in the book. The evening comes, the guests arrive, and little Humphrey appears on the scene dressed in his best, his eyes sparkling with excitement, "like a being of another sphere" But no wild men are there, no monsters of unknown form and barbarous dress, but only an ordinary party of the "rusty old gentlemen" of the neighbourhood. Words cannot express the horror and amazement of the child—amazement at the total failure of his own confident imagination, and horror at the discovery that his loved and trusted uncle has basely deceived him. And at night the boy is found in tears in his bed at the thought that "Uncle Charlie will go to hell for telling such a dreadful story." Ludicrous the situation may seem to many, to us it is more truly pathetic than many a scene of a more conventionally tragic nature.

Closely allied with and protected by this guileless simplicity, is the deep religious sentiment which is so beautiful in children reared like delicate plants in the sweet atmosphere of an English home, which once implanted never loses its influence, which gives throughout life then unspeakable charm to the distant peal of church bells and the almost unearthly quiet of the English Sunday, the early sentiment checked by no shade of doubt and coloured by the materialism so well detected by Florence Montgomery. The gates and the palms of Heaven are as much realities to such a child as the equally unknown, but equally accepted, wonders of the tropical world. And here it is that the simplest eloquence of the village pulpit reaps its unknown reward, and never fails to reach even beyond its aim. Men may nod over the well-worn platitudes, but the preacher need never complain while his words are able to bend with an almost supernatural power the youngest and purest heart in his flock, and the high-spirited boy, full of mischief and brimful of vigorous life, is mute and thoughtful as he listens to the story of the white-robed ones and the Jasper sea, "ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands."

We have heard it remarked how cheerful people look as they leave the church-door on a Sunday as if released from a weary duty, but would it not often be a more truthful interpretation which is given here? "Softly blew the summer breezes on little Humphrey's face as he stepped out into the porch, and the calm beauty of the summer morning was in perfect harmony with the turn which the sermon had given to his thoughts. All around was the beautifully wooded country, lying calm and still under the cloudless sky." Perhaps if his vague ideas could have taken shape, they would have formed themselves into some such expression as—"Can heaven be fairer than this?"

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How unalloyed, again how transcendently innocent and indiscriminating, are the love and sympathy of children! No red republican is a more resolute leveller of all class distinctions. We must indulge ourselves here with one quotation at some length which speaks for itself in illustration of this trait of early character. It is at the same dinner at which the wild men were first mentioned —

"Uncle Charlie was enjoying his soup and Sir Everard dividing himself between his little boys and his meal."

"It's William's birthday to-day," said Humphrey, breaking silence. The unfortunate individual in white silk stockings, thus suddenly brought into public notice, reddened to the roots of his hair, and in his confusion nearly dropped the dish he was in the act of putting down before his master. "He's twenty-two years old to-day," continued Humphrey, "he told me so this morning. Sir Everard tried to evince a proper amount of interest in so important an announcement. 'What o'clock were you born, William?'" pursued Humphrey, addressing the shy young footman at the sideboard, where he had retreated with the dish-cover, and from whence he was making all sorts of signs to his tormentor, in the vain hope of putting an end to the conversation. Sir Everard hastily held out a bit of turbot on the end of his fork and effectually stopped the boy's mouth for a few minutes, but no sooner had he swallowed it than he broke out again. "What are you going to give William for his birthday-present, father?" he said, putting his arms on the table and resting his chin upon them, that he might the more conveniently look up into his father's face and await his answer. Lower and lower bent Uncle Charlie's head over his plate, and his face became alarmingly suffused with colour. "I know what he'd like," finished Humphrey, "for he's told me!"

"The unhappy footman snatched up a dish-cover and began a retreat to the door, but the inexorable butler handed him the lobster sauce, and he was obliged to advance with it to his master's side. "I said to him to-day," proceeded Humphrey, in all the conscious glory of being in William's confidence, "if father were to give you a birthday-present, what would you like? You remember, don't you, William? and then he told me, didn't you, William?" The direct form of attack was more than flesh and blood could stand. William made a rush to the door with the half-filled tray, and, in spite of furious glances from the butler, disappeared just as Uncle Charlie gave it up as a bad job and burst out laughing."

One of the most powerful and least often detected feelings which influence a child's home-life is a deep abiding jealousy, gnawing as that of Othello but untempered by a dream of com-

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pensation or even by a consciousness of the nature of the haunting sensation itself—a jealousy which accepts the fancied daily slight as meekly and in as matter-of-fact a way as any other of the strange things that throng around the new comer, for “where everything is so strange, one thing is not much more strange than another”,—which hides its bitterness till some chance occasion brings forth its expression, and then it is told only with sorrow, with no hesitation or surprise, not even with a touch of remonstrance against its well-loved and innocent cause—like the stings of insects and the bruises of the play ground, it has been accepted as what is only natural and right, however hard to bear. “You never take me in your arms,” says the dying child. “I didn’t ever think you would care to come, my little Humphrey.” “Oh! but I often should, though only I knew you would rather have him.” With all his passionate tears and stormy griefs we question whether any one more nearly than such a child rises to the philosophical attitude with regard to human happiness which is laid down by Froude: “Whether happiness come or not, it is no very weighty matter, if it come, life will be sweet, if it do not come, life will be bitter,—bitter not sweet,—and yet to be borne.”

But for intensity of feeling and even dramatic power we hardly knew a more striking picture than that of the motherless child Humphrey with the despair of manhood in his heart, when through his own thoughtlessness his only brother and companion is lying sick—for all he knows, to death—and he himself is meeting only with the neglect he knows he has deserved. It was he who forced the delicate child into an escapade, the wildest that ever suggested itself to his boyish thoughts, and it is for this mad and selfish indulgence that his little brother is struggling with fever, and, as he well knows, with little strength for the struggle. The boy’s feelings are the same as those of the strong man when he is baffled and helpless in the wrestle with life, when there seems not one gleam to lighten the black prospect which presses around him, not with dead passive influence, but with active, tormenting, relentless, persecution.

All that was most precious to little Humphrey was taken from him long ago with the mother whom he adored and whose idol he was—and now what he has clung to in her stead, the loving younger brother, whose homage he has accepted so lightly as his due, his faithful and devoted admirer and comrade is passing away too, dying as his mother died before. Only it is worse now, for the blame is all his own, he has struck the blow, ‘his hand is against every man and every man’s hand against him’ Full of tender longing for his brother, he is rudely and harshly pushed aside, as though his cup of guilt were now full, and he had no more part or lot in his only friend. His life is a failure, and

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there is not a ray of comfort left. Something like these are the deep despairing thoughts of the young child—thoughts which sway his little being with a power the more absolute and mysterious that he cannot analyse them—as he stands at the door of the sick-room with the tears in his eyes “and his bunch of radishes in his hand”

But it would be endless to touch upon all the indications here offered, of the genuine insight into, and appreciation of, the many-sided character of childhood displayed by an authoress who has not even missed the perception of the profound pathos of childish prattle at a crisis of life and death. Look at the brave ingenuousness, proverbially characteristic of early years, which confesses with equal absence of shame or pride its own merits or faults. “You needn’t scold Miles, it was all me,” or “Oh! that’s my money that I am saving to buy old Dyson an ear-trumpet with.” Look at the early and instinctive reverence for age in the elder brother’s assumption of superiority acknowledged so frankly by the younger—“There’s lots of things you don’t know.” Look at the genuine modesty which blushes before the grown man, the sensitiveness to a word of blame, the intense enjoyment of life in its most innocent forms, with no need for artificial excitement, and a thousand other varying lights and shades, which go to make up the picture so exquisitely and faithfully drawn in this volume. Imperfect and ephemeral as it is, how essentially attractive is the character of the young child, as of all else that is young and fresh in nature.

Compare for a moment a character of this kind, transparent as crystal, with the state of mind of a young man lately emerged from school-life, say at that crudest, and yet in its way glorious, age—nineteen. How infinitely more winning and loveable are the untouched feelings we have noticed than the gradually hardening sensibilities and tastes of a youth of this kind, just beginning to perceive and counting himself superior that he can detect all that is hollow and false and rotten in the world about him. He is not to be “done” so easily, he has no respect for your parson with his hymn-book—no tenderness for, no knowledge of, the suffering by which he is surrounded. Most ignorant and selfish of men, void of or trying successfully enough to quench what he has of that most divine of our faculties—imagination, by which we are empowered to read the hearts of others, how should he fathom a hair’s breadth below the surface of a mind innocent in youth or tried by the troubles of years? Is it not because this most common picture is so really repulsive, although conventionally regarded as the reflection of all that is manly, that we welcome the innocence of childhood and are captivated by a portrait of its most charming features so artistic in effect, so fresh in colouring,

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so faithful in delineation, and so carefully worked out? For the form is not by any means the only merit in the work with which we are now dealing. A simplicity and force of expression rises at times almost to the level of the Epic, as in the description of the child's delirium, and its influence on the unhappy father "Three times Sir Everard strove to answer, and three times his voice failed him"

And to the plot itself too a brief tribute must be paid. It is with nothing short of consummate art that throughout the earlier part of the story not Sir Everard only but the reader is thrown off the scent by the delicacy of the younger child, and the careful preparation, as it were, for some calamity in the person of the little Miles, the father's pet, and the fragile image of his mother, till the moment before the catastrophe he is almost ready to exclaim with Sir Everard that no punishment could be too severe for Humphrey, and the surprise of the catastrophe, when it comes, is felt to be as real to the reader as to the father of the child.

Apart, however, from its execution, such a story as this undoubtedly appeals to us with a somewhat rare force, because it reminds the hardest of us that, hardened as we love to think ourselves, it is after all only a rough shell that has been formed on the outside of our nature, that the delicate life is still there with all its sensitive fibre, ready to come forth like the nautilus when the surface of life is smooth and the evening sky unclouded.

And does not a 'brochure' like 'The Fight at Dame Europa's School' cut deeper than history clothed in words of burning eloquence, because it reminds us, and because we like to be reminded, how simple in reality are the clouded motives of men?—how in truth what we teach ourselves to regard as patriotism and policy of State is often nothing but a child's wilfulness and selfishness? Because it reveals to us—and because we appreciate the revelation—how absolutely and perpetually we blind ourselves and cloak under the easy mask of manhood the very simple feelings and motives of which as children we were ashamed?

We have tried to urge that one reason why books of the class of which we are treating are so generally welcomed by the mature intelligence of men and women, is the form in which they appear, and that the charm of the form has its origin in the instinctive sympathy which is at least latent in most of us, however unacknowledged or even unsuspected, with all that is most simple and innocent in nature. In short, that here is one indication that we are not so bad as we are often painted even in the secret studio of our own hearts, where, if anywhere, the angles and disfigurements of the portrait are usually softened down.

But if a political *jeu d'esprit* presupposes at least some acquaintance with the public affairs of the day, and if thoroughly to appreciate a simple tale of child-life, requires more of the child-nature than is perhaps given to the majority of men, it is to our purpose to observe that a skilful writer is able to touch the sensibilities of a very large class by a nursery Book of Nonsense. It is not in the nursery that the ridiculous nonentities of the Clangle Wangle and the bright blue Boss Woss are most welcomed or best appreciated. Grey-haired men and women—men of the world and men of science—join in the laugh over the story of the Four Little Children and the extracts from the Nonsense Gazette, and Lionel and Guy are at once received as playmates by all, of whatever age, who have not altogether lost the echoes of their childish years. And that this is a larger class than modern cynics are usually wont to admit, one proof may surely be found in the wide popularity of a book of children's nonsense, full of the most extravagant absurdities, of receipts for "Amblongus pies," pictures of 'Baccopipia gracilis' or 'Plumbunnia nutritiosa,' and songs of which the burden has no more rhyme or reason than

"Far and few, fat and few
Are the lands where the Jumblics live"

ART III—THE MOFUSSIL RECORDS OF BENGAL

THE neglect, which is universal throughout India, of all modern means and appliances for ensuring the preservation and accessibility of the Public Records and State Papers, has been often deplored in these pages. The apathy of Indian Governments about the condition of the materials and sources of the history of the country, is unparalleled amongst the civilised nations of the world. India, whose records (from the nature of the climate and from other causes) daily encounter more perils than those of any other civilised country, stands alone in having absolutely no machinery for the safe custody of its literary and scientific treasures. With regard to the other points that characterize a good administration, we are wont to compare ourselves with France, Italy, Holland, or even Germany, or England itself, in record administration we have every thing to learn even from the countries which we are accustomed to consider the least advanced in the arts of civilisation, for at the present moment the magnificent archives of Spain are pouring forth a flood of light on the mediæval and modern history of Europe. Meanwhile, month by month and year by year, the priceless gems of our Indian record offices are surely and by no means slowly decaying, all but the most modern must ere long be lost to science for ever.

And whilst the process of destruction, heart rending to any man with a spark of historical or antiquarian sensibility, is progressing, it is absolutely impossible for any private person, however ardent may be his scientific zeal, to rescue more than a few isolated scraps from the general ruin. India is, for most Englishmen, a land of incessant toil, they are compelled, by the demands of health or by the ties of home, to spend most of their holiday-time in a distant country. Every man of science in the Anglo-Indian community, with hardly an exception, is necessarily a busy man, and is absolutely precluded from anything like an extended or profitable search in the mine of the public records, until facilities be afforded for that purpose by the Government. Even in England, where there are thousands of learned and wealthy men who delight to devote their time and their money to these pursuits, the Government finds it necessary to expend considerably over two lakhs per annum* for the establishment of its Record Office alone, and this

* In the *Civil Service Estimates* for 1866-67, the salaries of the superior officers of the London Record Office amounted to £11,782, the wages of copyists and workmen, £3,886, the Police charges, for watching against fire, &c, £521, the charges for editing and publishing Calendars of State Papers and Historical Documents, £5,950, making a total of

does not include immense sums annually spent on buildings and appliances, nor does it include the charges of the Irish and Scotch Record Offices, or of those of the Crown Lands, or of the Duchy of Lancaster, or of the Court of Probate, or indeed of any of those courts and offices which have not yet come under the operation of the Record Act. And yet this most important function of a civilised Government, which is fully recognised and liberally provided for in every country of Europe, is absolutely ignored in India, where, more than anywhere else, scientific men require those facilities of access which are afforded by the European record-offices, and without which any attempt at investigation is perfectly hopeless. At present it often costs days and even months to find a fact, and in India men who care about facts cannot spare months or even days.

The officials under the various Indian Governments have always been acknowledged to form one of the most highly-cultivated bodies of public servants in the world, and yet those Governments have been content to allow their literary productions—scientific, statistical, or political—to moulder in dusty presses, unknown and unused. “We may safely affirm,” said a recent Indian writer, “that a scientific state-paper, however valuable, when once deposited in a Government record room, seldom issues thence except in the stomachs of white ants, it is at any rate almost invariably ‘lost to science.’” With us there is no possibility of any transmission of results from one student to another, as a rule every officer who takes any interest in the local history and antiquities, has to set to work exactly in the same manner as if he were in a newly discovered country. Di Hunter, who has probably done more in this line than any other district officer, declares in a recent work his solemn conviction that “till arrangements are made for bringing ‘the District Records into intelligent contact with the European world, the Indian Government continues guilty of a great historical injustice to the British nation.’”

As matters at present stand, our rulers enact in this question the part of the dog in the manger, they refuse to publish records at the expense of the State, and they neglect to provide the simplest

£22,119 In the same year we find an additional vote of £27,070 “to defray the charges which will come ‘in course of payment during the year ending 31st March 1867, towards the enlargement of the Public Record Repository, and providing the ‘necessary fittings.’” Since that year, we believe that the votes for editing, &c., have been considerably increased, and a separate Royal Commission has

been established, for investigating the historical treasures in the possession of private persons or corporations.

The magnificent Dublin Record Office, reconstituted by the late Lord Mayo when Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1867, is supported on a still more liberal scale, and the votes for the editing, &c., of Irish historical documents, are most munificent.

* *Our Indian Musalmáns*, p. 16.

facilities in the way of muniment-rooms or search-offices, for those who would do so at their own cost. Instances are continually cropping up of irretrievable losses to science, resulting from this neglect, for which, we cannot doubt, posterity will hold the Indian Government of the present day responsible.

Two years ago, under the heading of *Public Records and State Papers*,* we put before our readers a statement of the case in some detail, with especial reference to the metropolitan records of the great departments of the Government of India, and to the miserable *fiasco* of the late Record Commission†. The remarks we then made about the records of the Home and Foreign Departments apply exactly to those of the Board of Revenue in Calcutta. We propose to confine our attention in this place to the subject indicated by the title of this paper, to endeavour to point out the historical and scientific value of the Mofussil records of Bengal, to shew how those records have been neglected, and how consequently the loss to science becomes every day greater and greater, and to point out what are the measures which, we venture to think, might be attempted to stay, and ultimately perhaps partially to repair the mischief. In this sketch we shall freely refer to, and quote from, the two books of comparatively recent date which best illustrate the value of the local archives of this province—Dr Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, and Mr Westland's *Report on the District of Jessor*. We shall endeavour to point our statements, mainly from these works, and from the results of careful researches into all the original sources of information on the subject which are accessible to us, if further illustrations were necessary, it would be easy to draw them from the numerous works of a somewhat similar design which have appeared in other provinces of India.

We will first consider the *present state and accessibility* of our local records. Any one who has ever had occasion to visit a Mofussil record-room will be well aware that the records—where they are not “lying in a neglected condition on an open rack in the “clerk’s room”‡, as was the case with some singularly valuable papers at Birbhum, when Mr Commissioner Buckland inspected the Collector’s office—are at best secured in common wooden boxes or *almirahs*, generally old and rickety, fastened by ordinary pad-

* *Calcutta Review*, No C, April 1870.

† The Record Commission lasted a few years, and frittered away some of the public money. We believe that it did absolutely nothing for the preservation and accessibility of the Indian Records, which ought to have been the chief aim of such a commission. It produced only one work of

any historical or scientific value, we hope to give our readers a review of that work in an early number.

‡ See a letter, communicated to the Calcutta newspapers, from C T Buckland, Esq, Commissioner of the Burdwan Division, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal Revenue Department, dated Burdwan, 28th November 1871.

locks, and placed in a room of general public resort. They are, as a rule, exposed daily to every conceivable peril. The dangers resulting from the dampness of the climate, from the ravages of white-ants, rats, book-worms, and other vermin, from decay, from mutilation inflicted either intentionally or through ignorance or carelessness, from fire, &c,—all these are sufficiently obvious. The annual destruction of valuable documents that must go on in a climate like that of Bengal is doubtless enormous. Only a short time ago, a valuable collection of oriental manuscripts, the property of Government, was seriously damaged by rain, in consequence, a circular was issued by the Home Department, ordering that in all annual reports made by officers in charge of public libraries, museums, or collections, it should be specially stated whether or not the whole of the property is safe and in good condition, but in the present state of our Mofussil record-offices, it is impossible that any documents can long remain in good condition. We believe that it was discovered, a few years since, that the Collectorate Records at Jessor had been so extensively tampered with by interested parties, that the evidence of any of these documents was held to be worthless, and a similar state of things is believed to exist in many if not most, of the local archives. It was stated recently in the *Pioneer* that the records of one of the N W P cutcherries were inaccessible, owing to the number of venomous serpents that had taken up their abode amongst them!

But perhaps the most perfect illustration of the deplorable, we had almost said criminal, neglect from which the materials of the rural and local history of Bengal have suffered, is afforded by the correspondence to which we referred above, on the records of the Collectorate of Bîrbhum. It should be remembered that public attention had been drawn to these records more than to those of any other district, from the fact that Dr Hunter had founded on them his *Annals of Rural Bengal*. These records at any rate have been looked into, if any have in the whole of Bengal. Now let us hear what Mr Buckland says about them —

Whilst inspecting the Collector's office at Beerbhoom, I found a number of old English manuscript books lying in a neglected condition on an open rack in the clerk's room. They had been exposed to the ravages of time and insects. The Assistant Collector, Mr Macaulay, was good enough to undertake the examination of these old books, and among them he has found *some letters of particular interest, and of greater age than were believed to exist in the Beerbhoom office*

Mr Allen, the Officiating Collector of Beerbhoom, adds his testimony to the same effect, and with the greatest candour —

The books from which these letters have been extracted were lying mouldering on an old rack in the English office, *much injured by age*

and insects They to all appearance have been undisturbed by any previous explorer, and seem to have escaped even Mr Hunter's researches, possibly owing to the fact of their not being stored in the treasury almirahs

It will hardly be credited, by those accustomed to the notions on the subject of records prevalent in Europe (where an ancient and valuable document is treated with much the same reverence as that with which a book-collector treats his unique Elzevir), that Mr Macaulay's researches proved that the history of the earliest part of the English rule in Bīrbhūm had been crumbling away in these neglected papers!

Mr Buckland justly adds —“ It is very creditable to Mr Macaulay to have devoted his time to this extra work, considering the importance of his ordinary duties, in addition to which he had charge of the district treasury, whilst the pressure of preparing himself to pass the examination was always upon him.” But neither the Commissioner nor the Collector seem to be much struck by the more than Gothic indifference to science displayed by a Government which can permit the materials of its history to fall into such a grievous state as that which is here indicated, and which can trust, for the reparation of the mischief caused by the State neglect, to the zeal and discretion of young gentlemen who, however industrious and intelligent, must always be utterly without experience in record work, and terribly hurried by the multifarious duties which their official position entails upon them

So much, then, for the care that is bestowed on the preservation of our literary and scientific treasures* With regard

* The insecurity of such custody may perhaps be illustrated by a very brief description of the method of custody which is found necessary even in England, where the climate is much less injurious, and the fear of mutilation smaller. The Record Act directs that all public documents of a certain age shall be handed over to the Record Office. As soon as any sets of Records have been taken into the custody of the Master of the Rolls (who is ex officio head of the English Record Department), they are cleaned, sorted, bound or mended as far as may be necessary and practicable, and placed in boxes for subsequent arrangement. Then a catalogue or general descriptive list is drawn up, and afterwards the more important documents are indexed, and the most

important are ultimately calendar ed. When the work of arrangement is complete, they are placed in iron presses in the room assigned to their class. Every room in the building is separately fire proof, being cased with iron and furnished with an iron door which is thief proof. Water can be turned on at a moment's notice in any room for the extinction of fire. Hot air pipes are placed around every room, so that an equal temperature is preserved throughout the year, and by this means damp is excluded and rot arrested. Every part of the building being thus protected by every means that science can devise, the whole is constantly watched night and day, both by the Department (an officer and an office keeper being resident in an adjacent house) and

to their accessibility, we need only add to what we have already said that they are scattered in scores of remote and almost unknown hiding-places, without calendars or indexes worthy of the name, and in the custody of native record-keepers of no scientific skill and comparatively little intelligence.

We will now endeavour to show the real historical and scientific value of the Mofussil Records, and the importance of their being carefully preserved and arranged. The first point that strikes us is the consideration that many of these documents are to be found in duplicate, in a more manageable and accessible form, in the great metropolitan archives, and especially amongst the records of the Board of Revenue in Calcutta. This consideration, if it were generally applicable, would of course greatly diminish the responsibility of the Government in the matter of its neglect of the rural records, for the latter, though still valuable for purposes of verifying or supplementing the information to be found in Calcutta, would lose their unique character, and the mischief occasioned by their destruction, though serious, would not be irreparable. But we shall shew, in our review of the contents of those of the mofussil offices about which anything is known, that this consideration will apply only to comparatively a small portion of the bulk, there are certainly tons and tons of valuable documents, especially those of the earlier series, which are only to be found in these insecure rural offices. On the general question of their value, we shall quote one or two passages from Dr Hunter's eloquent introduction to his *Annals*, premising that, in our humble opinion, even the glowing periods of this enthusiastic writer will be regarded by posterity as all too cold in their denunciation of a system, or rather a lack of system, which is mutilating the history of a great country —*

Four years ago, in taking over charge of the district treasury, I was struck with the appearance of an ancient press, which from the state of its padlocks seemed not to have been opened for many years,

by the police, a police patrol is on duty throughout the night in the building. The perfect accessibility of all records is also well provided for, by a splendid system of Calendars and Indexes, and by the employment of a thoroughly trained staff of archivists. On this, see *Calcutta Review*, No C, April, 1870.

* It will, we trust, be remembered that the legal rights of the whole of the people are vitally affected by the neglect of which we are complaining in this paper, and we should be unwill-

ling to lose sight of this all important fact, though in this place we are more immediately engaged in pleading the claims of science. The Public Records have been called, by the British Parliament, the "Evidences of the People," and it has been declared, both in the Record Act itself, and in many reports of Committees of the House of Commons, that the people have an undoubted right to insist on the most careful preservation of all public documents, even on this ground alone.

and with whose contents none of the native officials was acquainted. On being broken open it was found to contain the early records of the district from within a year of the time that it passed directly under British rule.* The volumes presented every appearance of age and decay—their yellow stained margins were deeply eaten into by insects, their outer pages crumbled to pieces under the most tender handling, and of some the sole palpable remains were chips of paper mingled with the granular dust that white-ants leave behind†

Such was the condition of some of the chief materials of the *Annals*! Of all the heaps that had already been destroyed—of the tons of records that in the various offices of Bengal have already been converted into “the granular dust that white-ants leave behind”—history is for ever silent, their testimony for good or bad is for ever hushed. Dr Hunter continues—

Careful research has convinced me that these neglected heaps contain much that is worthy of being preserved. For what trustworthy account have we of the state of rural India at the commencement, and during the early stages of our rule? In the chief Government office of every district in Bengal are presses filled with papers similar to those I have described. They consist of reports, letters, minutes, judicial proceedings, and relate in the words of eye witnesses, and with official accuracy, the daily history of the country from the time the English took the administration into their own hands. Many of them are written in the curt, forcible language which men use in moments of excitement or peril, and in spite of the blunders of copyists and the ravages of decay, they have about them that air of real life which proceeds not from literary ability, but from the fact that their authors' minds were full of the subjects on which they wrote. We learn from these worm-eaten manuscripts that what we have been accustomed to regard as Indian history is a chronicle of events which hardly affected, and which were for the most part unknown to the contemporary mass of the people of India.

* Mr Macaulay's researches prove that Dr Hunter was mistaken in this assertion, as the former gentleman has actually “discovered”(1) two earlier magistrates than any of those whose records are noticed in the *Annals*. It would be amusing, were the subject less serious, to observe in what a hap hazard way the record discoveries both of Dr Hunter and of Mr Macaulay were made. Documents, of the most inestimable value from a scientific point of view, are turned up, because Dr Hunter is struck with the appearance of a particularly rusty old box, and because Mr Buckland some years afterwards

(in the same office!) observes some papers which appear to be particularly tattered and neglected.

† This terribly suggestive description will remind English archivists of the evidence given, in a report to the House of Commons, of the state of the Welsh Records before they were made over to the custody of the Master of the Rolls. The evidence created quite a sensation at the time, and a special Act of the Legislature was found necessary to protect the rights of the Welsh landowner. But Bengal is not Wales, “it is a far cry to Lochawe”

This plea for a careful record system, on the ground of the historical value of the records, we shall endeavour further to illustrate presently. Let us now hear what Dr Hunter has to say about the administrative value of such a system —

Besides the value of these memorials as a groundwork for an accurate and a yet unwritten history, they possess a special interest to those who are charged with the Government of India at the present day. When the East India Company accepted the internal administration of Bengal, it engaged to rule in accordance with native usages, and the first step towards the fulfilment of its promise was to ascertain what these usages really were. To this end instructions repeatedly issued during a period of thirty years, directing all local officers to institute enquiries, and even after the formal command was removed, the habit of collecting and reporting information continued till 1820. The period on which the rural records open in the western districts is one of peculiar interest. It stands on the border ground between the ancient and the modern system of Indian government. The evidence on which to form a permanent arrangement of the land-revenue was in process of being collected, and not a single subject of fiscal legislation nor a detail in the agricultural economy of each district escaped inquiry. The tenure of the landholders and their relations to the middle-men, the tenure of the cultivators, their earnings and their style of living, their clothing and the occupation of their families at odd hours, the price of all sorts of country produce, the rent of various qualities of land, the mineral products of the district, the condition of the artisans and manufacturers, their profits and public burdens, the native currency and system of exchange, the native system of police, the state of the district jail, lastly, cesses, tolls, dues, and every other method of recognised or unrecognised taxation—formed in turn the subject of report.

We will make one further extract only from the *Annals*, to illustrate the lack of continuity, which we have complained of as a necessary characteristic of Indian antiquarian research in the absence of any system of record administration —

The labours of a previous school of officers soon became a subject of indifference to their successors, the quick decay of a tropical climate began its work, and of the researches that had occupied the ablest administrators during the first fifty years of our rule—researches that they had designed as the basis of a consistent system of Indian rural law—the greater part has, during the second fifty years, been made over as a prey to mildew and white-ants.

What proportion has perished can never be known. *What part survives can only be permanently preserved by the intervention of the State.*

What good use Dr Hunter made of the surviving portion is Bîrbhûm—so far as it was possible for a young executive officer burdened with a large amount of regular work and with perpetually recurring examinations, to make any use of a chaotic mass

of documents and rubbish—is well known from his *Annals*, of which the second, fifth, and sixth chapters were based on what he found therein. His graphic accounts of the state of the country, when it passed under British rule, of the great famine of 1769-70, of the Company's first attempts at rural administration from 1765-90, and of the Company as a rural manufacturer as well as administrator, have become the type of a new school of Indian literature. Mr Westland in Jessor, Dr Oldham in Gházipur, and many other officers in other parts of the country, have followed in the same track, and the promised series of *Imperial Gazetteers* will doubtless serve at once largely to stimulate this branch of research, and to put the chief results in an accessible form before the public. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the meagre contents of a *Gazetteer*, however comparatively full of detail it may be, can preserve for us little more than a drop out of the ocean of knowledge to be obtained from a scientific examination of the records.

Mr Westland, in his *Report on the District of Jessore*, has made a more thorough and scientific use of local records than has been attempted by any other searcher, and his book, for the period of which it treats, approaches as nearly to what a good *Calendar of local State Papers* should be, as is possible under present circumstances. Dr Hunter in his *Annals* has endeavoured to combine the work of the archivist with that of the historian, and naturally the latter has well-nigh swallowed up the former. The Jessor Report, without any attempt at the literary embellishment which has won fame for the *Annals*, gives a fairly exhaustive account of the first thirty years of British administration in that district, from 1781 to 1811. Every statement is verified by references to the documents used, and is as precise, and consequently as valuable for future use by either historians or officials, as an entry in the magnificent series of calendars of the English Record Office. A glance at the contents of this chapter (Part III of the *Report*—which is the only portion of the work with which we are concerned here) will demonstrate the value of such researches, and a more careful examination of the text more than confirms the favourable impression. We will quote Mr Westland's account of the general object and scope of this part of his labours.

The third part is for the most part a compilation from early official records, it is a history of the first thirty years, the most interesting period of British rule in the district. From the old regulations, and especially from their preambles, it is possible to gain an idea of the general outlines of the Company's administration in those days, but avoiding what might be a mere recapitulation of the general or legal history of Bengal, I have concerned myself rather to give a view of the state of affairs with which the district officers in those days had to deal,

to give a history of the various attempts that were made to put matters on a better footing, to show the difficulties that had to be encountered, and the successes or failures which attended the various measures adopted. I imagine that few who have not examined the early records of the Bengal districts have any conception of the ordeal through which these districts passed during the period whose history I have attempted to narrate, the period of transition from the old *regime* to the new. Viewing the quiet and settled state of the districts now, one is apt to forget that eighty or a hundred years ago their condition in all that regarded internal administration was but a few degrees removed from barbarism, and one's present experience affords little aid in measuring the bearing and effects of even the most prominent public measures of that time.

Mr Westland's remarks put in the clearest possible light the immense advantages which an improved system of record management would confer on the district officers and others engaged in the administration of the country, for it is only from such management that we can hope for any collection and diffusion of that kind of information of which he speaks. Turning to the test of his analysis of the records, we find that he commences with a careful account of the state of the country prior to the establishment of British administration in 1781, at which time it was divided chiefly among three or four great zamíndáris. This account is of course less circumstantial than what follows, as it is derived only from allusions or incidental references in the earlier records. The details, however, of the establishment of the British rule—the early police administration, from 1781 to 1790—the administration of civil and criminal justice—the salt department and its fights with the magistrate the quarrels between the judge and the Company's cloth factories—the details of all these during the eventful years that followed our assumption of power are highly instructive and suggestive, and abound with passages of the deepest interest. The story of the permanent settlement, and the melancholy tale of the ruin of the old zamíndáris and the creation of a new class of zamíndáris during the eight years from 1795 to 1802, when the full effects of the permanent settlement were first beginning to be felt, are here invested with all that life-like reality which attaches to accounts written by men living among and deeply moved by the events which they describe. We find the same vividness and reality in the history of the various famines and of the measures taken to provide against them or to alleviate the distress, from 1787 to 1801, of the floods, and of the construction of embankments, so characteristic of a deltaic province, of the establishment of excise, 1790 to 1810, of the coinage and currency, of the early state of trade and agriculture, and of many similar matters of the greatest importance and interest.

●We have only touched thus lightly on a few of the many striking points of record-lore preserved for us by Mr Westland, because we imagine that the book itself is already familiar to most of our readers who take any interest in these subjects, who will all know that, under each of the heads we have mentioned above, the *Report on Jessore* contains a mass of information that will be an almost inexhaustible mine for future historians and administrators of the district. We cannot better illustrate the value of precise and accurate information of this nature, than by adverting to a work on India recently published in England by an able and forcible writer, Mr McCullagh Torrens. For a part of his work, Mr Torrens had the advantage of consulting some of the very few books that have been based on actual Indian records, for other parts he had to rely on current or standard Indian literature, and the contrast between the two sections of his work is well pointed out in the following brief review, which we will quote from an ably written article in a Calcutta newspaper —

We do not propose to show in detail where we think that Mr Torrens has failed in his picture of Warren Hastings and his times. But it should not be forgotten that his picture is the one which still has possession of the mental vision of most English statesmen who take the trouble of thinking at all about Indian affairs. Indian history has too generally been compiled from the impassioned utterances of English party leaders—men who could have no original knowledge of the subject, whose views were confessedly distorted by partizanship, and who, as a rule, were simply personal advocates or public prosecutors holding a brief. Such materials, although prolific in striking colors and exciting episodes, fail to yield any solid instruction as to what was really done in those times, or as to the bearings of the past action of the English Government of India on the great questions of the present day. The calm jurisdiction of history has a very different *venue* from the noisy arena of Parliamentary debate. If we are to learn the truth, we must search for it in the local records in this country. The Indian Government does an injustice both to the people of India and to the succession of eminent Englishmen who have in one century built up a stable and peaceful rule upon a seething whirlpool of anarchy, by its parsimony in leaving its archives to perish unedited and unknown.

While, therefore, we hold Mr Torrens' treatment of Warren Hastings and his times to be wholly inadequate, it would be mere injustice to blame the author individually for a blemish unavoidable from the very nature of the materials which are the only ones available to an English writer on Indian affairs. The merit of Mr Torrens' book is that he has placed his mind in full accord with that new and higher conception of Indian history which finds its themes, not in the exploits of a handful of rulers, but in the vicissitudes of the people. This conception may be said to have been introduced by the "*Annals of Rural Bengal*" at a single stroke, and one of Mr Torrens' most interesting chapters, "*The Plight of the People*," is a very able abstract

of the facts collected in India for that book. He also makes a skillful use of the volume of "Selections from the Records of the Government of India," edited by the Rev Mr Long, and several of his pages attest in an unmistakable manner the value of such compilations in bringing the truth about India home to the minds of English statesmen.

We believe that the point brought out in this last sentence is well worthy of the consideration of the Indian Government, and generally of those who desire to see a larger and deeper interest felt in England on Indian topics. May it not be possible that much of that indifference about India, in Parliament and elsewhere at home, about which we so often complain, is owing to the lack of accurate and trustworthy information? And can this lack be satisfactorily supplied otherwise than by the publication of calendars of, or extracts from, the official records of the country?

We have hitherto confined our attention to the archives of two districts which have been brought prominently before the notice of the public by the accidental presence in each district, at various times, of civil officers of antiquarian tastes and literary abilities. The records of Birbhum and Jessor have been rendered famous by the labours of Dr Hunter and Mr Westland, but many other repositories contain materials of history of equal interest and importance. We have endeavoured to obtain some statistics of the contents of the more important of these repositories, and we now offer to our readers the results of these enquiries, premising that we have little doubt that a detailed and careful examination by skilled archivists would bring to light innumerable scientific treasures of even higher value than many of those to which we are now about to refer.

It may be presumed that next to the records preserved at the Presidency, with which we are not concerned in this place, the oldest records of the English rule in Bengal will be found in the offices of Bardwán, Dacca, and Chittagong. And this is doubtless the case, for though we have no information about the two former, we learn that at Chittagong original documents are still surviving which date from the period of Clive's first administration, A.D. 1760—only three years after Plassey. Such a series as this of Chittagong, extending over considerably more than a century, must obviously contain an immense amount of interesting information, but we can only give a few samples, almost at hap-hazard. In 1771, the year preceding the advent of Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal, we get a voluminous letter of twenty-one foolscap pages from the Commissioner to the Commissioners of Revenue on the revenues of the division. In 1774, when our histories are mainly concerned with the affairs of Chait Singh of Benares and with the squabbles of the newly-appointed

Governor General and his Council at Calcutta, we get an interesting letter from Warren Hastings to "the Chief of Chittagong" on the subject of slavery. In 1777 there is one of even greater importance—when we remember that the history of the Arakan frontier and the depopulation of the Sundarbans is the *opprobrium historicorum* of Bengal, and that this letter can hardly be found in duplicate—from Captain Ellerker to the Chief of Chittagong, about certain invasions of the Mughls. Later in the same year, Warren Hastings writes to the same official for information about Burmah, early in 1790 we find a guard ordered for Moheshkally "on account of the Burmese," and again in April 1791, there is a letter from the Board to the Collector of Chittagong regarding disturbances by Burmese in the south of the district. In 1789 there is an important petition from the zamíndárs of Sandwipa, in 1790 a memorial from the zamíndars and talukdars of Chittagong, and later in the same year, an important series of petitions, extending over twenty-five pages of foolscap and containing a large amount of interesting information, relative to the malpractices of the Diwan. Letters about the French in Chittagong, bills "for dieting people sent by the King of Ava," and documents about police, embankments, waste lands, hâts, "cases of alluviation and decrease in lands," salt, cotton and indeed every possible detail connected with revenue, commerce, agriculture, and the administration generally—are to be found in this treasure-house of antiquities, only awaiting an intelligent examination and selection.

In default of any trustworthy information about the archives of Bardwán and Dacca—likely to be more valuable than any others—we turn to those of Midnapur, which probably come next in point of age. These date from 1764, they throw light upon the commercial proceedings of the East India Company, and upon the relations between officials and independent traders, and as usual, they are most full and explicit upon almost every matter of interest and importance concerning the district.

Hugh has only acquired in comparatively recent times its present dignity as a *Sadr* station, consequently the English records preserved there can boast of no high antiquity. But most of the official documents of the Dutch Settlement of Chinsurah, and of the Danish Settlement of Frederiksnagar or Serampur, were deposited at Hugh at the times when those territories passed respectively under the British rule. The Dutch have always been conspicuous, even amongst European nations, for the scientific care bestowed on their archives, and the records of Netherlands' India preserved at Chinsurah, were worthy of that reputation. We regret, however, to find (from a paper read before the *Asiatic Society*, and published in its *Proceedings*, in April 1871) that

most of those which possessed any historical and scientific value were, in 1853, "handed over bodily, and without even any proposal to retain copies of them in this country, by the Government of India to the Government of the Netherlands' India" for transmission to the Hague. The extraordinary historical interest of these documents may be seen from the list, which is printed *in extenso* in the *Proceedings*. They contained a complete series of the *Minutes* of the Governors of Chinsurah, from 1674, which, as Mr Torrens (who was Judge of Hughli at the time of the transfer) stated, "must undoubtedly, I think, have been of very considerable historical importance." The other sets of documents were numbered from 1 to 66, we will quote a few of the numbers —

No 3 contained copies of "grants respecting lands at Pipley and Balasore, in 1676"

No 4 contained documents respecting "the acquisition of land at Baranagore" by the Dutch in 1680

No 6 contained "two Perwanas under the seal of Vizier Sadoolah Khan" respecting a house at Patna

No 8 was a packet containing documents respecting transfer of some premises at Dacca from the French authorities to the Dutch in 1674. This is almost certainly the earliest mention on record of the French being settled in Bengal, the *India House Records* calendared by Mr Bruce in the *Annals of the East India Company* only mention the arrival of the first French fleet under Admiral De La Haye in the Bay of Bengal in 1673, Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, says that the French settled here about 1676, and yet in these documents we find them possessing premises at Dacca, and even disposing of those premises, as early as 1674

No 12 was a packet containing copies of five *farmāns* permitting the Dutch to trade in the provinces of Oudh, Allahabad, and Agra.

No 42 contained twenty-one volumes of journals and minutes of the Dutch administration from 1773 to 1805. These would in all probability furnish materials for a fairly complete history of Netherlands' India for that period, and would admirably illustrate the history of the British power during the same time

No 57 was a book containing a Note of Warren Hastings on the capture of the Fort and Town of Chiusursh in 1781

The Danish records of Serampur date from 1745. Both these, and the surviving relics of the Dutch papers, are described as "covered with the dust of years," "worm-eaten and decaying," "many in a state of inseparable cohesion"

The papers of the old Purniah Council are believed to be at Allahabad, but in the Collectorate at Purniah are a large number

of documents of the highest interest, dating from 1786. Some of the earliest of these throw light on the state of Nepál, the Morung, the frontier tribes, and trade between them and Purneah, at this period—a period far removed from the present day in point of civilisation, in this part of Bengal. There are papers fully illustrating the famine of 1791, grants of lands to Europeans and permissions to set up factories, measures undertaken to put down excessive usury, and exactions on the part of the zamindárs. There is, moreover, a most important account of the state of the various zamindáris of the district in the year 1788.

Probably few districts surpass Bhagalpur in the scientific value of their archives, for here we find not only the usual series, but also such valuable monographs as Sutherland's *Reports on the Hill Tribes*—not to mention numerous letters of Cleveland, the pioneer of civilisation amongst the aborigines of the hill-tracts. If those enquiries into the condition and history of the non-Aryan tribes of Bengal, so well commenced by Hodgson and Hunter and a few others, are ever to be made thorough and exhaustive, it must almost necessarily be by the aid of these most important documents, which (the statement will perhaps appear incredible to many of our readers) are sharing a common fate with the most trivial and worthless bills and accounts of a mofussil office! With materials such as these at his command, a writer possessing a lively imagination and a facile pen might perform for the Santals and the other wild tribes of Western Bengal a service similar to that which Sir Walter Scott did so well for the Highlanders of Scotland, meanwhile, these materials are consigned—*horresco referens*—to the tender mercies of the climate and the ants.

The records of the divisions of Patna and of Chuttia Nagpur were much mutilated during the troublous times of 1857—those of the Collectorate of Gya having been totally destroyed by the mutineers, whilst those of Shahabad in the former division, and those of Hazaribagh and Manbhúm in the latter, were much injured. We are assured that there formerly existed a large mass of highly interesting correspondence connected with the affairs of Chuttia Nagpur and the jungle mahalls, extending back as far as 1765, of which all, or nearly all, has doubtless perished. There are, however, still remaining in the office of the Commissioner of this division, many letters and reports on operations undertaken to suppress disturbances, and much interesting information respecting the relations of Government with the different states forming the agency, embracing a period from 1813 to 1836.

The offices of the Assam Commission are generally of very recent creation, nevertheless, amongst the Commissioner's archives are many documents which, if accessible, would prove not only of general interest, but also of the highest value to the officers

of the Commission These mainly consist of reports referring to the relations of Government with the surrounding hill tribes, the state of the country when first taken possession of, and other similar topics

In the Collectorate of Tipperah is to be found a highly valuable series of papers, of the years 1789-1792, wherein is buried an immense amount of information about the interesting State of Hill Tipperah Turning to the division of Rajshahi, we find a great number of documents of a similar nature in the Rangpur Collectorate, illustrating in the same way the relations of Government with Bhutan, Kuch-Behar and Assam These records date from 1781, and those of the Dinajpur Collectorate from 1790 In Rajshahi itself, we get papers dating from July 1782, some of these are kept in almirahs, others carelessly bound together in bustahs, and, as usual, most of the volumes have been damaged either by damp or by white ants

The mutilation of the ancient and extremely valuable archives of Murshidabad is, we believe, a matter of history Of the whole mass of the old English records of this collectorate, *three* volumes alone now survive The first of these volumes contains the minutes of the Provincial Court at Murshidabad for the latter half of the year 1778, the second volume contains the minutes of the Provincial Council for the first half of the year 1780, the third volume contains the correspondence of the collectorate during the years 1791 to 1795 Between these records and those of recent years there is, alas! an historical blank—*hiatus valde deplendus*, which can now never be filled up

We have here glanced at the literary treasures of some of the chief districts of Bengal—treasures which are being yearly dissipated and destroyed under the very eyes and with the tacit sanction of the Government It will be observed that we have dwelt for the most part only on the purely administrative records, but it must be remembered that, in addition to these, there is a vast mass of judicial records scattered about over the country, exposed to the same dangers and treated with the same neglect Moreover, these judicial records are hardly inferior in importance to the records of the executive, like them, they vitally affect the rights and interests of the subjects, and from a scientific point of view, every archivist well knows that records of judgments and pleadings are often the best possible guides in matters of social history, and are always the most trustworthy sources for illustrations of the manners and customs of the people And yet what hope have we of any intelligent use being made of all these materials? Wherever we go we find, in traversing the various districts, almost exactly the same accounts meeting us at every turn In every one of the richer and more ancient repositories there are

large numbers of highly important and interesting documents, but everywhere, with dreary monotony, we find the same ignorance of the real nature of the treasures, and the same neglect attended with the same inevitable loss and decay. Everywhere, the damp and the white-ants are the masters of the situation. Even where, in some districts, the rule of King Stoik has been temporarily substituted for that of King Log on the advent of some particularly zealous and energetic district-officer, the hapless records still suffer no less, and it cannot be doubted that many a priceless literary gem has been sacrificed to misguided industry in the clearance of so called rubbish. Even in the one office which has been most thoroughly searched, the scene of Dr Hunter's labours and the birthplace of the *Annals of Rural Bengal*, we find the Commissioner of the Division, merely in the course of a casual inspection of the office during the past year, turning up (amongst what would have been doubtless considered rubbish by a less acute observer) the most ancient records of the district, and we find an intelligent Assistant Magistrate, notwithstanding his pre-occupation and his inexperience, able to evolve from this rubbish the history of the earliest period of British rule in the locality. It is impossible to doubt what would have been the fate of this history, but for the acute archæological perception of Mr Buckland and the accidental possession of archæological tastes and industry on the part of Mr Macaulay. If this is the case with the archives of Bîrbhûm, over which a special providence seems to have watched, what may we not fear for the unknown and unfriended archives of less fortunate districts?

It now remains for us to consider whether any reasonable measures—reasonable, we mean, in point of the trouble and the expense which they would involve—can be devised to remedy the melancholy state of things which we have pointed out, or, at least, to arrest the work of destruction. The plan which has been most commonly suggested, and which would probably appear to most at first sight a feasible one, is, for the local district officers to select the most valuable and important records, which might then be printed *in extenso* and thus effectually rescued from the general wreck. But we shall endeavour to show that this scheme is impracticable, even if it were not so, the value of the results would only be in direct proportion to the amount expended on the copying and the printing, and unless the expenditure were most lavish, the bulk of the records would still be untouched. That the scheme is impracticable, however, will hardly be doubted by any one who knows how numerous and how pressing are already the calls upon the time and attention of the district officers, to impose upon them the duties of archivists in addition to all the rest, would be to add the last straw to a load already well-nigh insupportable. Moreover,

his is exactly the kind of work which is only done well by those who have a taste for it. A very wise man once said "Use such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed for that quickeneth much," and we will venture to say that, in antiquarian investigations, the absence of this quickening affection absolutely disqualifies a man for the task. Not every Assistant Magistrate has the taste of an Oldbuck or a Dryasdust, nor can every one drink of the inspiration which the Birbhûm record-room seems to afford—*non curvis homini contingit adire Corinthum*. We have no doubt that, as a fact, nine officers out of ten would find the task of wading through dusty and musty records weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable to a degree, and would either delegate it to some ignorant subordinate, or perform it in such a perfunctory manner as to make the selection absolutely valueless. And, as we have already suggested, no selection that could be made within any reasonable limits would adequately represent the archæological treasures of our mofussil archives.

The great fundamental error which underlies this and most other propositions that have been made for putting the record-literature of India on a better footing, is comprised in a mistaken notion of what really are the duties of a civilised Government in this matter. It is not for Government to print records *in extenso*; this task may safely and indeed with advantage be left, even in India, to the scientific zeal of individuals or of learned societies—provided always that due facilities are afforded them for making a judicious selection. The functions of Government in the matter are now recognised, in the practice of every enlightened state of Europe and America, and by the unanimous opinion of the whole world of archivists, to consist in—(1) securing all public documents of value from the numerous dangers to which they are exposed, by the use of all the appliances and inventions of modern science, (2) superintending the destruction of useless documents with the adoption of such precautions as may ensure that nothing of value (either to the public or to individuals) is lost, and that no improper use is made of the condemned papers, (3) securing the perfect accessibility of all public documents (except those that may be withheld for valid reasons of state, as for instance, in England, the recent records of the Foreign Office) to all classes of searchers, whether the searches are made for official purposes, for scientific purposes, or in the establishment of legal rights. These principles were first laid down by M. Guizot, when Minister of Public Instruction in France. In a memorable note relating to the consolidation of the Department recently known as the *Archives de l'Empire*, the same acute scholar and statesman reviewed the record works of the *Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, and of the *Société de l'Histoire de France*, and pointed out that whilst

such societies may and should follow up and supplement the work of the Government by publishing records of value opened up to them by the State calendarers, it is for the Government alone to make their archives thoroughly accessible by means of complete and scientific calendars prepared by their own officers. These principles have been accepted and acted upon by nearly every Government in Europe and America.

These, then, are the two cardinal points to be aimed at—*preservation* and *accessibility*. It is, we boldly affirm, impossible to obtain these without—(1) the concentration of all record repositories and the establishment of a public and convenient search-room, (2) the compilation of good and scientific calendars. It may be noted, however, that here in India the question of the preservation of the records is of far more pressing importance than even that of providing for their accessibility. Hence, the first measure that is urgently demanded by the state of our mofussil records is their concentration under proper superintendence in some safe and dry central repository. Any attempt to provide for their preservation in their present scattered state, must be either wholly futile, or ruinously extravagant, whereas their transport to Calcutta and the provision of a proper building for their reception and of a small establishment for their custody, might be effected at a cost inconsiderable in itself, and absolutely insignificant when considered as the price of such an inestimable boon to the scientific world. To provide for the accessibility of the treasures thus collected, by means of search-rooms and calendars would fairly demand attention after this concentration had been effected, but to secure the safety of the treasures themselves is the great point. Like Tarquin haggling over the Sibylline books the longer we hesitate about collecting the Bengal records, the less will be the value of the collection when made.

ART IV —THE LANGUAGES AND RACES OF DARDISTAN

The Languages and Races of Dardistan By DR G W LEITNER,
Lahore and London

OUR present review of this work does not extend to the first two volumes which have already been published, but embraces only the first part entitled—*A Comparative Vocabulary and Grammar of the Dardu languages*

Hitherto, as it appears, this interesting work, the materials of which were collected by Dr Leitner on a tour to Dardistan in the months of August, September, and October 1866 under great difficulties, has passed nearly unnoticed by professional philologists, but apparently from no other reason than that they did not know how to make use of it. It is to be regretted that nearly the whole attention of our learned orientalists at home is bestowed on Sanskrit alone, Pāli has, till recent times been very little studied, and it is significant that since Lassen's *Institutiones Linguae Prākriticae* have appeared (1837), nothing has been done (the little work of Delius, *Radices Linguae Prākriticae*, excepted) on this vast field. The modern idioms of India, derived from the Sanskrit through the medium of the Pāli and Prākrit, are nearly utterly neglected, as if they had no right of existence. We accept therefore most gratefully the valuable contribution which Dr Leitner has given to a more comprehensive and comparative study of the modern Sanskritical idioms of India in his Dardistan. The subject itself is interesting enough, were it only, that languages which were hitherto only known by name, are brought within our research, but it is doubly interesting, when we find that the races inhabiting Dardistan are of *Arian origin*, and speak dialects which, on nearer investigation, will be found to have gone through the same process of development (or decomposition, as it might be called), as their sister-tongues in the plains of Upper India.

But from another point of view also the subject in question deserves our closest attention. It is proved now fully, by the Dardu dialects being brought within our reach, that the large mountain chain separating India from the steppes of Tartary and Turkistan, is still inhabited by an Arian race. Of the *Kāfis*, who live in the inaccessible valleys of the *Hindūkūsh*, the writer of this paper has proved years ago that they are *Arrians* and not *Tatārs*, (as it was supposed for a long time) and that they are speaking a language which can only be compared with the Prākrit of the

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middle ages * We may therefore consider it now as fully established, that the *original home of the Arian race of India has been the northern mountain range, which is still inhabited by the descendants of the same people* The supposed emigration of the Arians from *beyond* the Hindūkūsh (i.e., from the ancient Bactra or thereabout), which is now the favourite theory of our Sanskrit scholars, is perfectly gratuitous, and not borne out, or supported by any tradition All we know from the Vēda is, that the Arians first lived in a cold, mountainous country, covered frequently with snow, that from the north they moved down into the Panjāb (Panch-nada) and gradually further towards the south, till they finally reached the ocean on the Bengal side, towards the south-west the Mahārāshtra (Marātha country) was their last settlement But this emigration from the northern Himālaya and Hindūkūsh has by no means embraced the whole population originally settled there They were only single tribes or clans who descended from their mountain fastnesses, and conquered, as a hard, sturdy race, the (apparently) weak and small-bodied aborigines of the low lands, just as the Afghāns, their brethren according to the flesh, have done it in later times The settlements gradually increased, as we may well suppose by new adventurers or clans from the hills joining their biethren in the fertile plains of India, and either necessity or a spirit of adventure prompted their movements towards the south How long this process went on, nobody can tell in the absence of any chronological data or firm tradition But after the Arians had been settled for centuries in the valley of the Ganges, and their whole mode of life had undergone a thorough change, their old home in the mountains of Northern India was forgotten in proportion as the connexion with it ceased Their old warlike spirit gradually gave way, as they settled down to the peaceful pursuits of life, which soon brought them to a comparatively high degree of civilisation, and we need therefore not be astonished, if in later times their northern brethren, who having to contend with a rugged sterile soil had remained in primitive simplicity of life, and who, being shut out by high and often impassable mountains from contact with other nations, had retained also their primitive freedom unchecked by narrow caste-rules, were looked upon as *Mlēchas* (*Barbarians*), just as a Bengālī Babu of our days looks with horror on the savage and uncouth appearance of an Afīdī of the Khaibar mountains That there were native kingdoms in the countries of the Dardus, and some of them very flourishing, we know from the travels of the Chinese Buddhist Chi Fah Hian, who traversed these regions A D 400 They had all embraced

* See my essay *On the Language Caucasus Journal Royal Asiatic of the so called Kāfers in the Indian Society*, 1861

Buddhism, and were thereby brought again into close contact with their brethren in the plains. The further history of those regions is covered with darkness. We do not know how and by whom and when Buddhism was extirpated and with it the little learning that was kept up in the Vihāras or monasteries. The country was overrun by Tātār tribes, and the people embraced Islām, but they were not or could not be expelled from their mountain fastnesses. The only Tātār tribe, which has effected a permanent settlement in the Dardu country, are the *Khajuna*, for their language is not Arian, but of Tātār origin.

In the first part of the Dardistān, Dr Leitner gives us specimens of four Dardu dialects, the *Ghulgitī* and *Astōrī*, which are comprehended under the common name of *Shinā*, the *Arnyā* and *Kalāsha Mānder*. No doubt there are many more dialects in those mountainous districts, as the difficulty of intercourse favours particularly the formation of new dialects amongst people, who have no literature and therefore no standard of language.

We shall try to exhibit in the following lines the chief grammatical features of these Dardu dialects*.

I The declensional process

II The terminations of nouns

Nouns in the Dardu dialects have on the whole the same terminations as in the North-Indian vernaculars. Most nouns end in a consonant, the Prākṛit termination *ō* having first been shortened to 'u' (as in the old Hinduī) and then dropped altogether, e g, *rōsh*, anger, (p 1) Hindi *rōsh*, *īsh* (=īch,) bear (*Shinā*), *Kalāsha Mānder ītz*, *Arnyā ōrtz*, Hindi *rīchh*, Sanskrit *riksha*, *dēs*, day (p 2), *Ghulgitī dēs*, *Astōrī, bāsan* (perhaps *bāsa*?) (*Kalāsha Mānder*, Sanskrit *divasa* and *vāsara*). The old Prākṛit termination 'ō' seems at the same time to have been retained in some nouns, just as in Sindhī and the old Hinduī where it is still optional to let the noun end in a consonant or in 'ō', as *manūjō* man (Sanskrit *manushya*, the Prākṛit assimilation is *manussō*, the transition of s, ss into j, jj is borne out by the cognate dialects, for instance, Sindhī *hanju* goose, Sansk *hansa*). Dr Leitner gives too few examples of nouns ending in 'ō', so that no safe conclusion can be ventured upon. The termination 'ō' seems to have

* The phonetic laws of the Dardu dialects are very interesting, but we must forego them here, as they would lead us too much into details. Suffice it to notice, that no aspirates are to be found, and if we are to rely on the correctness of the orthography given, no cerebrals either. The latter point, however, must be left open as yet, if it should be fully proved, that

these dialects contain no cerebrals, a far bearing conclusion could be drawn from it. The Pushtō has no aspirates, but the whole cerebral row, the Persian, as it is well known, has already dispensed with both aspirates and cerebrals. With the old Bactrian (the so-called Zend) the matter stands differently.

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been changed already to ā, as it is now common in *Hindī* and *Panjābī*, e.g., *phalā* apple (i.e., fruit) in Ghilghitī, *phalō* in Astōrī (p 1) Though Dr. Leitner mentions nothing of the *gender* of nouns, we may safely assume that *phalā* is *masculine*, as in *Hindī* and its sister dialects, and that the *neuter* has been dropped in the Dardu dialects and transferred (at least for the greatest part) to the *masculine*, as it is now the case in the northern vernaculars (*phalam* being *neuter* in Sanskrit). The matter is different with nouns like *rā* (p 35) King, Astōrī *rāsh* (perhaps *rāz*), for this is the Sanskrit *rājā*, Prākṛit *rā ā* and contracted *rā*. In Astōrī, on the other hand, the final (original ā) is dropped, and the *palatal* j changed (as I fancy) to z or zh (by no means sh), a change which is quite common to the Pushtō (and to the Marāthī likewise), and is also borne out by the Panjābī. In the same way is to be explained *kā*, a crow (p 2), Sanskrit *kāka*, Panjābī *kāu*, contracted, *kā*. We see from these few examples that the same Prākṛit rules, which have been operating in the modern Arian idioms, apply equally to the Dardu dialects.

Dr Leitner says nothing about *feminine* nouns, but we may safely infer that nouns like *nāō*, boat (*Hindī* and *Panjābī*, *nāō*, Sanskrit, *nau*)—*ātī*, bone (Sanskrit *asthi*, *neuter*, *Hindī*, *haddī* f, old *Hindī* *astī* m)—are *feminines*. We find also nouns terminating in long *i*, which are, according to all analogy, *feminine*, as, *atshī*, eye (Sanskrit अक्षि, *neuter*, Panjābī *akkhī*, fem, Sindhī, *akhi*, fem). Nouns ending in *i* and *ī*, however, may be *masculine* and *feminine*, as *agāi*, sky (Sanskrit *akāsha*, Panjābī *akās* or *agās*, m, in *agāi*, the final *s* is dropped, and after long *ā* a euphonic *i* affixed, as in *khudāi*, God), *giri*, mountain (p 6, explained by *great stone*, but apparently signifying a *rock*=mountain) Sanskrit, *giri*, m, *Hindī* and *Panjābī* likewise *masc*. The terminations *ū* and *u* likewise may be no doubt equally applied to *masc* and *fem* nouns, though the nouns contained in the list are all (very likely by chance only) *masculine*. Thus we find (p 4) *patu*, leaf (should no doubt be written *patu**), Sanskrit *patra* (n), *Hindī*, *patā* (m), Panjābī, *patt* or *pāt*. In this case the 'a' is the shortened Prākṛit termination *ō*, as already alluded to. The same is the case with *barā u* (p 4) husband, Sanskrit *bhartār* (*bhartṛ*), Prākṛit *bhattārō*, the assimilating process has been somewhat different in Ghilghitī=*bharā-u*=*barāu*. An example of a noun (m) ending in *ū*, is *shū* (p 2) dog, Sanskrit *shvan* (*shun*). If nouns are exhibited in the list ending in *é*, *e*, we are inclined to consider them as mistakes, they are in all probability *plurals*, as will be seen afterwards. In the same way the spelling of words with a final 'y', as *day* (p 1), *beard*, is

* Or *pātu*.

apparently the same as that with final *i* or *ī* = *dāi* (= Hindi *dārhi*, Sanskrit, दारिणी) We find thus, that the terminations of Dardu nouns are essentially the same as in the North-Indian Vernaculars

2. The Formation of the Plural *

From the examples given on pp 35, 36, and 37 we can draw the following inference There are only *two* methods of forming the plural in the Dardu dialects, that of *masculine* and *feminine* nouns

Masculine nouns ending in a *consonant* form their *plural* (*nominative*) by adding the termination *ī†*, as *bāl*, a boy, plural *bāl-ī*, boys, *batt*, a stone (Hindi *patthar*, Sanskrit, *prastara*) plural *batt ī* The same rule seems to hold good with reference to nouns ending in *ā*, as *rā*, king, plural *rāj-ī* (where very likely for the sake of euphony original *j* has been restored) An exception from this rule make nouns in *ō*, which form their plural by changing final *ō* to *ē*, as *manuḥjō*, man, plural *manuḥj ē* This, however, requires further confirmation ‡ The Astōri dialect seems quite to agree, as regards the formation of the plural, with the Ghilghiti, The Arnyā dialect, however, deviates considerably from the Ghilghiti and Astōri in this respect, for we find (p 35) *sing mītēr*, king plural *mīterān*, *hōst*, (Hindi, *hāth*, Sanskrit *hasta*) hand, plural *hōstār* (but is *hōctār* not a misprint or mistake for *hōstān*?) Both these methods of forming the plural are very remarkable

The termination *ī* has no analogy in any of the Indian vernaculars sprung from the Sanskrit, nor in Prākṛit less still in Sanskrit. We may, however, be allowed to assume, that the Dardu plural ending in *ī* corresponds to the termination *ē*, which is used in the inferior (more vulgar) Prākṛit dialects, such as the Ardhmāgadhī (cf Lassen, *Institutiones Linguae Prākṛiticae*, pp 412, 5) We know from the Prākṛit grammarians, that already in Māgadhī the termination *a=ō=u* of the nominative singular was changed to *ē*, which is fully borne out by the old Hinduī of the middle ages, where nouns which end now in a consonant frequently adopt the termination *i=ē* The Dardu plural termination *ī* may be a remnant of it The Pushtō, which is likewise an Arian tongue and closely allied to the Prākṛit idioms of India, comes very near the Dardu plural formation, all Pushtō nouns, ending in the nominative singular in *ai* (= *ō=Māgadhī ē*) forming their plural by changing *ai* to *ī*

* The Dardu have in all likelihood is this long or short? We have dropped the *Dual* just as their sister taken it as long †
idioms in the plains ‡ We find also (p 37) *phuner*,

† Dr Leitner writes only *i* or *ī*, flower, plur *phunēr*, flowers

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The Arnyā plural termination ān finds its analogy in Pushtō and Persian, in both languages nouns ending in a consonant, affix in the plural the syllable ān (though in Persian now restricted to nouns denoting animate beings). It is generally agreed upon, that this termination ān is originally the Sanskrit plural accus ān. From the few examples given of the Kalāsha dialect, it would appear that Kalāsha nouns do not affix a plural termination at all, a circumstance which will require further investigation.

Feminine nouns form, according to the two examples given (p 37), their plural in ē, as, tshēi (Sanskrit, stī, old Hindi, trī or tīa), plural, tshēvē, dī, daughter (Hindī, dhī or dhiyā, Sindhī dhia, Prākrit धीदा or धीया, Sanskrit दुहिता), plural dijār-ē (very likely for diyār ē, for the Sindhī also forms the plural of dhia in dhīara=Sanskrit duhitarah). This plural formation is quite in accordance with the usage of the North Indian vernaculars (ē=ēn) ||

3 *The Formation of Cases Case-affixes*

The modern Indian vernaculars of Sanskrit origin (as well as the Pushtō and the Persian), have for the greatest part lost the power of case inflexions. The Piākrit is already very deficient in this point, and the idioms, sprung from the Piākrit, have gone gradually a step farther, till they have lost (with few exceptions) every sign of a (grammatical) case-inflexion, and were consequently compelled to make up for this loss by using or substituting *adverbs* (now called *postpositions*) in lieu of the original inflexions. It is very remarkable, that the Dardu dialects have also in this respect closely followed the footsteps of the other Piākrit idioms, though they have occasionally beaten out a path of their own.

The affix denoting a *dative* relation is t or tē, as, rā-t to a king, rājō t, to kings, hatē tē, to a hand, hatō-tē, to hands. It is very interesting, that the same affix is used in Pushtō where it is tah. We cannot doubt a moment that this t, tē, or Pushtō tah is the Hindī tāi (now taī), Sanskrit, स्थाने (Loc), signifying literally *in the place*,=to. The other prepositions given (p 35) likewise agree with the Hindī, as sāti, with (=sāth, in sāti we have still the old locative), majā (better written majjā, the Hindī and Sindhī majjh)=Sanskrit, मध्ये *in*.)

The *accusative* is apparently identical with the nominative, as in all the modern Sanskritical vernaculars. An *instrumental* is not given under the noun, but we shall find one under the pronoun and see that its form is kātsh. The *ablative* relation

* Compare on this point my essay *On the Declensional Features of the North Indian Vernaculars, compared with the Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākrit* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1862

is expressed in Ghilghitī by the postfix *jō* (to be pronounced *shō*, or rather *zhō*), which we do not hesitate to identify with the Hindi postposition *से* (old Hindi *सिख*) *from*, which corresponds to the Prākṛit ablative affix *तो* (= Sanskrit *तस्*)*

It is very well known (what gave our first Hindī and Hindūstānī grammarians so much unnecessary trouble), that the modern (Sanskrit) vernaculars, along with the other case inflexions have also lost the *genitive*. They made up for this case in a very easy and ingenious way, by turning the noun, logically standing in a genitive case-relation, into an *adjective*, by adding to it the adjective affix *kā*, fem, *kī*, (Sanskrit *इक*), for this very simple reason *kā* (or rather the adjective formed by *kā*) agrees with its governing substantive in *gender*, *number*, and *case*, as all other adjectives, which are flexionable, do. The Hindī cannot say, *the house of the Lord*, but only *साहिब का घर*, in Latin, *dominica domus*, the lordly house, the Latin affix *icus* being absolutely identical with *kā* (*ikā*). In all the northern idioms this method of making up for the lost genitive has been adhered to, though the adjective affix used for this purpose varies. We find thus *kā*, *chā*, *jā*, *jō*, *gā*, *rā*, *nā*, and *dā* in use, the last (used in *Panjābī*) being originally identical with the Sanskrit ablative affix *तस्* (Prākṛit *दो*), but in spite of this turned into an adjective affix. The Pushtō, the nearest neighbour to the Panjābī, uses likewise *da*, with the only difference, that it is used as an (indeclinable) *prefix*.

It is very remarkable, that the Dardu dialects differ in this respect from their sister idioms in the plains, they having retained the old Prākṛit genitive case of the singular, which, not being treated as a common affix, has not been transferred to the genitive of the plural. In Ghilghitī the genitive affix is *ē* or *éy* for the singular, as *rā-ē*, of a king, *hat éy* (*éi*) of a hand, *son ēi*, of gold, etc. The Prākṛit genitive singular ends in *अस्* (= *अस्*), which in the inferior dialects has already been contracted to *से* and thence to *हे* *hē*. In the old Hindi the genitive singular still frequently ends in *हि*. We believe that the Ghilghitī affix *ē* is identical with this *हे* or *हि*, *éi* seems only to be a euphonic change of *ē*. In the Astōrī dialect we find (p. 35) the genitive singular *rājō*, but this must be a misprint, as on p. 36 we find the genitive singular *son-éi*, of gold, *hat-ēi* of a hand. The *Arnyā* genitive singular ending in *u* (perhaps only shortened for *ō*) looks very curious, and we are at a loss how to account for it. In the *Kalā-*

* We do not know how to account for the *sha* affix *pi* may be compared with count for the Astōrī abl affix *nyō* the old Hindi *‘पू’* which signifies and for the *Arnyā sār*. The *Kalā-* also from

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sha dialect, on the other hand, we meet with the genitive singular (and dative) *shā-as*, which tends greatly to confirm our surmise respecting the origin of the Ghilghitī genitive singular affix *ē*. For there can hardly be a doubt, that the affix *as* corresponds to the Prākṛit genitive *अस*, as we still find it in the Kapur-di-giri rock inscriptions. In Prākṛit the *dative* is already completely lost, and its functions transferred to the genitive, which will easily account for the circumstance that in *Kalāsha* the same affix serves also to express the dative case.

The genitive *plural* ends in Ghilghitī and Astōrī in *ō*, which is, as we shall presently see, also the termination of the *formative plural*. This affix *ō* we take for the Prākṛit genitive plural *āna* (Sindbī anī and Panjābī ānī, Hindi oñ, final *n* having been dropped in the Shinā dialects, whereas it is preserved in the *Arnyā*, as *miterān*). That in the *Kalāsha* dialect the plural should in all the oblique cases be identical with the singular, is hardly credible.

In Hindi and its cognate dialects a certain number of nouns (especially those ending in *ā*, *ō*, etc., which for brevity's sake we cannot detail here) subject the final *vowel* to certain changes before the accession of the case affixes, which has been generally (but wrongly) called the *oblique case* and which we will call, as it is no case at all, but only serves as a *base* for certain cases, the *formative*. In the singular, nouns ending in a consonant attach, in Hindi, etc., the case-affix, without any further change, as *ghar-kā*, etc., but on the other hand, *betē kā* (from *betā*), with change of final vowel. In the formative plural we find throughout the termination *ōñ*, as, *gharōñ kō*, etc. That this formative plural is originally the Prākṛit genitive plural can hardly be questioned.

The Dardu dialects differ but little from this. They use the *genitive singular* and *plural* as *formative* for the other cases. In the singular only the final (euphonic) *i* is dropped, as *hat-ēi*, of a hand, formative, *hat-ē* *hatē tē hātē-sāti*, etc., *manujj-ēi*, of a man, formative, *manujjē*, *manujjē-jō*, from a man. In *rā-te*, etc., final *ē* seems to be dropped only for euphony's sake.

The final *ē* of the formative singular, however, may also be a *euphonic* addition to facilitate the accession of the case-affix, or it may be considered as the original termination of the noun (old Hindi) dropped in the nominative, but restored again as soon as the noun receives an accession in the form of an affix. Nouns ending in a vowel (except *ō*) would then remain unchanged in the formative singular, as, *rā-te*, *lā-jō*, *tshē-jō*, or they would add *e* before the accession of the case-affix, as, *tshē-e-tē*. According to the examples given, both forms seem to be in use. Nouns ending in *ō* (=Hindi *ā*) change final *ō* to *ē* in the formative singular (just as in Hindi, etc.), in whatever way the formative singular may be explained. The formative *plural* ends uni-

formly in *ō* (Hindī *ōñ*) , as *rāj-ō*, *hātō*, *tshēy-ō* (with euphony *y* interpolated), *bāl ō*, etc, final *ā* and *ō* being dropped before the formative plural termination. The *Astōrī* dialect seems to agree in this respect quite with the Ghilghiti, for we find there formative singular, *rājā te*, plural *rājō*, *putsh-e*, *putsh-ō*, etc. It is true, that under the head of the genitive singular (the formative) we find different forms, such as *bāl-ā*, but this is obviously a mistake.

The declensional features of the Dardu dialects are therefore essentially the same as those of the North Indian vernaculars. Many points still remain doubtful, but on the whole we may rest assured that the forms given by Dr Leitner may be safely relied upon, as they are fully borne out by their sister idioms in the plains. It would be an absolute impossibility to give a detailed description of so many dialects, hitherto totally unknown, within the space of a few months. May others, who may have in future the chance of visiting those regions, fill up with the same circumspection and perseverance, as Dr Leitner did in giving us these first outlines, the gaps which still remain, and we shall soon be able to put at the side of the modern Indian vernaculars of Sanskrit origin old sister-dialects, which will throw a new light on the decomposition or transition of the old Prākṛit into the present idioms.

4—*The Numerals*

The numerals, of which only the *cardinals* are given, are altogether identical with those of the Prākṛit idioms of India, only the laws of assimilation of conjunct consonants and of elision of single consonants differ to some extent, as might be expected. We find thus in Ghilghiti *ēk*, one, *dō*, two, which we may dismiss without any remark. The form *trē*, three, differs from the Hindī *tīn* (=Prākṛit, *tinī*) and goes back to the Sanskrit *tri*, in Sindhī we find likewise *trē*, *tshār* (=chār) four, *pōn*, five, (instead of *pañch*) shows a peculiar assimilation, *sāth*, seven, *atsh*, eight (Sanskrit *asht*=*ash*=*ach*), which is not without Prākṛit analogy, *nau*, nine, *dāi*, ten. This form is again peculiar, Sanskrit, *dasha*, Prākṛit, *dasa* (Hindī, *das*), Sindhī, *daha*. In Ghilghiti this form has been lengthened to *dāh*, and instead of *h*, which is likewise dropped, short *i* (as I take it) has been affixed. The numbers from 11-19 show a remarkable contraction, *akāi*, eleven, *bāi*, twelve, *tshōi*, thirteen, *tshaundēi*, fourteen, *panzēi*, fifteen. At first sight these numerals are quite puzzling, but *tshaundēi* fortunately lets us have a glance into their composition. We must therefore commence with the analysis of this numeral. The Sanskrit form is *chatur-dasha*, Prākṛit *chauddaha* (thence the Hindī *chaudah*, the Ghilghiti form goes back to the Prākṛit *chauddaha* (with

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the interpolation of a nasal = chaun-) changing at the same time *dā* (=daha) to *dēi*. We see from this process that *akāi* and *bāi*, as well as *tshōi* (*chōi*) stand for *ak-dāi*, Sanskrit, *ākādasha*, Prākrit, *ēaraha*, Hindī, *ikārah* or *yāraha* — *ba-dēi* (Sanskrit *dva-dasha*, Prāk it, *va-raha*, hence Hindī *bārah*) — *tshō dēi* (Sanskrit, *trayō-dasha*, Prākrit, *tēraha*, Hindī, *tērah*) which is, as Dr Leitner indicates under the *Astōri*, nearly to be pronounced as *tiōi-dāi*, a form, which solves at once all difficulty, *panz-ēi* = *panz-dāi*. The following numerals, *shōnj*, sixteen, *satāj*, seventeen, *ashtāins*, eighteen, and *qunī*, nineteen, are again quite peculiar. The Sanskrit form for sixteen is, *shōdasha*, which has become in Prākrit *sōlaha* (thence Hindī *sōlah*). The Ghilghiti has here left the trace of the Prākrit, and gone back again to the original Sanskrit, by contracting *shōdasha* into *shōnj* (instead of *shōns*), the palatal *sh* having been changed for euphony's sake to *j*. In the same way must be explained *satāins*, Sanskrit *saptadasha* (but Prākrit *sattaraha*), and *ashtāins*, Sanskrit *ashtād-dasha* (Prākrit, *atthāraha*). As regards *qunī*, nineteen, we cannot help thinking that there must be some mistake about it. The Sanskrit is *ūnavinshatī* (one less than twenty, Latin, *undeviginti*), Prākrit (*ūnvīsaī* = *ūnnīsaī* (assimilated), thence Hindī *unīs*, Sindhī *unīha* (or *univīha*). But where shall the *q* come from?

Is perhaps *q* a euphonic augment to facilitate the pronunciation of initial *u*?—for in the root itself it has no foundation. If so, this had to be shown in the laws of sound, peculiar to the Dardu dialects.

Bī, twenty, is already explained (= Sindhī *vīha* = *vīh*). Strange it is that *bī*, when compounded with another numeral, becomes *biga*, as *biga ēk*, twenty-one. The Indian vernaculars offer no analogy to this, but we know from other sources, that the Sanskrit palatal *sh* is changed to *k* and *g*, for instance the Sanskrit *shvan*, dog, becomes in Greek *κυν*, and the very numeral *vinshatī*, twenty, has been changed to *viginti* in Latin. There can therefore be hardly any doubt about the correctness of the form *biga*. Most curious it is, that the other tenths are made up by *multiplication* and *addition*, and that the original Sanskrit-Prākrit numerals are dropped altogether. The very same phenomenon we meet with in the language of the *Siāh Pōsh Kāfirs** in the Hindu Kush, who are likewise sprung from the great Arian stock. We find thus *biga-dāi*, twenty and ten = thirty, *dubiō* (= *du biha*), twice twenty = forty, *du biōga-dāi*, twice twenty and ten = fifty, *tshē biō*, three times twenty = sixty, *tshē biōga-dāi* = three times twenty and ten = seventy, *tshār biō*, four times twenty = eighty, *tshār biō dāi*, four times twenty and ten = ninety. We do not know how to explain this fact, for there can be no doubt that the Dardu races had

* See my essay on the Language of the so-called Kāfirs.

originally the Sanskrit-Prākṛit numerals.* Why did they drop them? We can hardly fancy that they dropped them for convenience sake, for it is far more troublesome to make up for original numerals by multiplication and addition, than to express them by one noun. But not only among the Dardu races and their brethren, the Kāfirs in the Hindukush, we meet with this strange fact, the same phenomenon may also be observed in the decomposition of the Latin into the Gallico-French (*not in Italian or Spanish*), as quatre-vingt, four times twenty=eighty, quatre-vingt-dix, four times twenty and ten=ninety. We see thus, that when an old language is once giving way and going to pieces (which is generally the case amongst great commotions or in times of great ignorance), essential parts of it may be lost which can no more be recovered,

In *shal*, one hundred, Sanskrit शत, Prākṛit सद or सख (thence Hindi sau) we find, that final t (d) has been changed to l. The change of d to l is very common in Pushtō, and consequently we find there also the form sil or sal for one hundred (similarly, las, ten=das). For a hundred thousand the Indian lāk (without aspiration of k, as indicated above) is in use.

Only a few *ordinals* are given in the list (p. 8).

Muchino or *yarr*, first. We suppose that *muchino* is perhaps a derivation from the Sanskrit मुख (Hindi मुख or मुखि) in front, first, though we cannot speak with any degree of certainty. We confess that we do not know what to make of *yarr*, as we are not able to lay our hands on any analogous form in the cognate idioms. The following numerals are erroneously put down as *ordinals*, *dogūnō* is not the second, but *twofold* (Panjābī, *dugunā*), similarly, *tshēgūnō* is *threefold*, *tshār gunō*, *fourfold*. *Pōn* and *shā* can apparently not be the *fifth* and *sixth*, as there would be no difference whatever between the cardinals and *ordinals*, which is by no means likely. *Biga gūnō* (so very likely it should be written instead of *biga egūnō*) is likewise *twentyfold*, and not the *twentieth*.

Trang, *half*, is rather curious. We suppose it is derived from the Sanskrit अर्ध half, and अर्ध part or share = अर्धा, initial a has been elided=dhrāns'h=trang (by transition of अ into k, g).

Once is *ēk dam*, twice *dō dam*, *ie*, one breath, two breaths, apparently a later formation, *ie* being of Persian origin. The other Dardu dialects offer few variations from the Ghulghiti. Under the *Astōrī* we have only to notice, that two is *du* (instead of *dō*, five

* One circumstance, however, is not to be lost sight of, that even the original Sanskrit numerals for twenty, thirty, &c, are made up by multiplication. But we can hardly suppose that the Dardu races were conscious of this fact.

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pōsh (instead of pōn, eight asht (instead of ātsh), fifteen, paziley (instead of panzēi), lei being apparently only an alteration for oēi.

The Arnyā offers more differences. One is I (with elision of k), two is djū, and the same form is put down for twelve. There must be some mistake about these forms, for it is not likely that the Arnyā should not distinguish between two and twelve. With regard to the other numerals it may be observed, that a is generally changed to ō, as tshōr, four (instead of chār), sōt, seven (= सप्त), ōsht, eight (= asht). For *ten* we find the form djosh (how is this to be pronounced?) Is dj=simple j (ज)? We can hardly believe this, how should simple d (द) become j? We do not remember that any such change occurs in any idiom derived from the Sanskrit-Prākrit. We forego, therefore, any surmise on this form, as we doubt its correctness. Twenty is bishir in Arnyā (in Persian بیست bist=bīsil=bīsir or bīsil), final t having been again changed to l and thence to r. The same we find in the Pushtō شل shil. This our derivation is fully borne out by shōr, one hundred, Ghilghitī shal, l being changed again to r in Arnyā. The Kalāsha numerals offer also a few peculiarities. Ten is dash, but eleven dajē ga, and twelve, dajē-dūa. We see that in these two forms the original (palatal) sh is again dropped (being first changed to h) and the encliticum je* (and) affixed. The following numerals are very much mutilated, tria, thirteen, tshaua, fourteen, pondja, fifteen, shōa, sixteen, satta, seventeen, ashta, eighteen, nōa, nineteen. They are all formed on the same plan, and final a only expresses the number *ten*. This can only be explained in this way, that dash has lost the initial d (which is quite in accordance with Prākrit usage), and that final s (sh) was changed to h (as Sindhī dāha) and then dropped altogether. It is very remarkable, that the Kalāsha has formed in this way a *new* form for *nineteen* (nōa), leaving the trace of the Sanskrit and Prākrit. *Twenty* is bishi (=bīs), and twenty-one, bishīje ek, twenty and (=je) one.

5—The Pronouns

a—The Pronoun of the First Person

The declensional scheme of this pronoun is the following in Ghilghitī

SINGULAR.

Nom mā, and (as we can see from the verb, p 21) *mas* in the feminine Formative, mā

* We have no doubt, that je is the in the old *Hindui* Sanskrit ज, and, still to be met with

Genitive (mē-i?), or pronominal adjective, mēyō, fem mēyi
my, mine

Dative	mā-tē, to me
Accusative	mā, me.
Instrumental	mā kātsh, by me
Ablative	mā-jō, from me

PLURAL

Nominative	bē (or) bēs, we
Formative	assō
Genitive	assē i, of us, our
Dative	assō-te, to us
Accusative	?
Instrumental	assō kātsh, by us
Ablative	assō jō, from us

The form mā, f, is borne out by the Sindhī, in old Hinduī we find also the form मोहि, mōhi (the Prākrit is म्हाह and म्हाहि) It is, however, very probable that mā (like मोहि) is originally the *accusative*. The formative mā is likewise identical with the Sindhī formative singular māñ, mōñ (or mūñ), corresponding with the Sanskrit acc मा, me. We do not hesitate to put down mē-i as a genitive, as such a form is very likely to occur*. The pronominal adjective mēyō and fem mēyi is quite peculiar to the Ghilghitī and Astōrī. The Sanskrit possessive adjective is मदीय (from which the Latin *meus* has sprung), which has been totally given up by the modern Indian idioms, they have formed an adjective of their own in its stead, mē-rā, mine, by adding the adjective-affix rā to the original genitive mē, which is still frequently used in old Hinduī (rā = kā †) though now quite out of use.

The plural bē or bēs is peculiar too. It is a contraction from the Sanskrit वय, vayam, Prākrit, वय. The modern Indian idioms have mostly had recourse to the other Prākrit form वणे, we (thence *ham*), derived from a Sanskrit (obsolete) root, वस (thence the Sindhī asīñ, Panjābī, also asīñ). In the formative, however, the Darau dialects exhibit the same root, assō (very likely to be written asō only), Sindhī, asāñ, Panjābī, asā, Prākrit, amh, thence the Hindī *ham* in the formative also.

We are very happy to detect in this declensional scheme for the first time an *instrumental*, which is expressed by the post-position kātsh (Astōrī, kātshi), rather a strange-looking form. What may this kātsh be, or how is it to be explained? We find no analogous form in any of the cognate dialects which form their

* Compare tā-i, of thee

is used instead of kā. Rā corresponds

† We do not mean to say that rā to the Prākrit adjective-affix ra, is only a change for kā, but that it

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instrumental in a different way. We suppose that *kāṭsh* is identical with काय (= Sanskrit काय), and ought very likely to be written *kā*. We are confirmed in this supposition by the Dakhni *kā*, which is quite used as a sort of postposition and signifies by *reason of, for the sake of*. Mā *kā* (for we will write it thus) denotes therefore *by my work*, which is a very fit circumscription of the instrumental case.

The Astōri dialect agrees on the whole with the Ghilghiti, only a few variations are to be noticed. Thus we find *mū*, *f*, = *mā*, in the formative singular both forms, *mū* and *mā*, seem to be in use, as *mā tē*, to me, and *mūkātshi*, by me.

The Arnyā forms, we confess, are for the greatest part quite unintelligible to us. *Awwā* (very likely only *awā*), is plain enough, it corresponds to the Sindhi *āw*, *f*, the labial *m* having been changed to *v*, which is still quite a common thing in Panjābi. The formative singular is *mā*, as *mā-tē*, the instrumental *mā-nāse*, by me. What is this instrumental affix derived from? We do not remember any analogous form in the cognate idioms, and we do not therefore venture any surmise as to its origin or derivation. In the nem plural we find *ispā*, we. This form might be explained by referring it to the Prākṛit plural, अणे (derived, as shown, from an original Sanskrit form अण) It would appear, that the Arnyā retained the original form अण, changing the labial *m* to *p* and shortening initial *a* to *i*, which is quite possible. For the genitive plural we find *tshikkān*, for the dative *ispā-tshikkān*, for the instrumental, *tshikkān-nāse*, for the ablative, *tshikkān-sār*. There must be some mistake about these forms, as is clearly seen by the so called dative, *ispā-tshikkān*, which sounds very unlike an Arian form. Besides this, where is the postposition *tē*? What this *tshikkān* is we cannot tell, only so much is known, that it is a plural and that its singular must therefore be *tshikk* (or very likely, *tshik*=*chik*.) In the Kāfir dialect we have the demonstrative pronoun *sigā*, this (derived from the Sanskrit स, with the adjective affix *ka*), and it may be very likely that *sigā* and *tshik* are the same. This our surmise is very much confirmed by the form *hē tshik*, which we find set down (p. 15) for the demonstrative pronoun they (fem.) *ispā-tshikkān* would therefore signify *us here* *. To all the other forms therefore, *ispā* has to be added, or rather, *tshikkān* is more or less a superfluous addition.

In the Kalāsha dialect we find *a*, *f*, an abbreviation from *awā*, or from the Prākṛit अण. In the genitive singular we meet with the form *māi*, which serves at the same time as formative for the

* Or, *we all*, as it would appear.

other cases, the dative excepted. This *māi* corresponds to the Sanskrit accus singular, *मा*, as noticed already above. In the dative we meet with the form *mōtshes*, Hindi, मुझे, Prākṛit मज्झ, which has been dropped in the other Dardu dialects. The instrumental sing is *māi tada*, by me, and the ablative *māi pī*, the origin or derivation of both these postpositions is unknown to us*. The nom plural is *abī*, we, very likely derived from the Prākṛit अवे, by changing *m* to *v=b*, and dropping *w*, *amē=ave* or *abē*, and thence *abī*. In the formative plural, we find again *hōmō* (=ham, a being changed to *ō*). The dative plural is stated to be *hōma*, which must be left doubtful, as we cannot sufficiently elicit, from the few examples given, the formation of the dative in Kalāsha.

b—The Pronoun of the Second Person

The declension of this pronoun in *Ghilghatī* runs thus.—

SINGULAR

Nominative	tū, tūs, thou.
Formative	tū
Genitive	tēi, of thee, thy (or, tō, see Part II, p 33)
Dative	tū-t, to thee
Accusative	? (tū ?)
Instrumental	tū kātsh, by thee
Ablative	tū-jō, from thee

PLURAL

Nominative	tzō, you (or tzōs, fem tzās, see p 21)
Formative	tzō
Genitive	tzā-i, of you, your
Dative	tzō te, to you,
Accusative	? (tzō ?)
Instrumental	tzō kātsh, by you
Ablative	tzō jō, from you

Tū is the regular Hindi form, and tūs, like mās, is only a dialectical variation†. The genitive tē-i corresponds to the Sanskrit-Prākṛit genitive ते. In the formative sing the form tū is retained.

The nom plural tzō (which, however, ought to be written tsō, as *z* can only be joined to a *media* and not to a *tenuis*,) is peculiar. The Prākṛit is तुवे (formed from the case तु or रव and व), like अवस; this has become tustī in Panjābī (in Sindhī, tavhīn or

* Pi might be compared with the old Hindi मै, which signifies not only upon, but also from. So says for instance Nām day मै पै मज्झाह, from me no answer is made.
† Is perhaps in this final s the original pronominal affix am lingering?

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talīa), in Pushtō *اس* tase, and in Ghilghitī tō. In the formative plural the Panjābī *tusīn* becomes *tusān* (Sindhī *tavhāñ* or *tahāñ*), and in the Ghilghitī genitive *tzā-i*—*i* being, as indicated, the genitive affix, which in the pronouns seems to have been transferred to the genitive plural likewise. The genitive sing (*tēi*, like *mā-i*) is to be traced back to the (original) Sanskrit genitive, *मे, ते*

The Astōrī on the whole agrees with the Ghilghitī. We only find in the genitive sing the two variations, *tō* for the masc, and *tei* for the fem. Under the pronoun of the first person, no such difference of gender is noted, nor do we find any differences of gender in the other cases. It is therefore more than doubtful if any such difference of gender exists at all.

In the genitive plural we find likewise *tsō* for the masc, and *tsēi* for the fem, we have at present no means to decide on the correctness of these forms.

In the Arnyā dialect the nom sing is *tū* and the formative and genitive *tā* (originally the accus, Sanskrit, *त्वा* or *त्वा*, *Piākūt*, *त*). The nom, formative, and genitive plural is *bisa*. This leads us to a very interesting observation. The Sanskrit form is *युय*, *yūyam*, you, which, as we have seen already, is abandoned in *Prākūt* (and in the modern idioms), and recourse is had to a new plural formation on the base *त्वा* with the pronominal affix *स्म* (=Latin *met*, as, *ego-met*, etc)=*तुम्हे*. But besides the base *yū* (*yūyam*), we find in Sanskrit also the form *vas* (*व*), though now only used in some cases of the dual and plural. In Latin the base *yū* is totally abandoned (though not in Greek, *υμεις*, *ὑμεις*, standing for *युय*), and *vas*=*vos* substituted in its stead. In Arnyā the old base *vas* has been preserved likewise and corrupted (if we may say so) to *bisa*. But the base *vas* itself is no doubt identical again with the *Prākūt* form *तुम्हे*, derived as it is from the base *त्वा* and *स्म*. *Tva* is first assimilated (by transition of the initial tenuis to its corresponding media *d*) to *dva*, this again to *vva*=*va* or *ba*, and with the pronominal affix *sma* to *bas* (instead of *basm*), the final *n* being dropped altogether. The same process of assimilation (which is quite in accordance with *Prākūt* usage) we find in the Sindhī *ba*, two, instead of *dva*, even in Sanskrit, initial *dv* is occasionally assimilated to *v*, as *विशति*, twenty, instead of *द्विशति* (two times ten, *शति शत* being apparently an abbreviation for *दशति* and identical with *दशत्*). The Kalāsha nom sing is apparently *tū*, though, by a misprint, we find in its place *hōmō*. What *tū* *Kashalatai* is, we do not venture to guess, but whatever may be the meaning of *Kashalatai*, it has certainly nothing to do with the

pronoun of the second person. The formative and genitive *mag*, *tā* (=tā=tvā) In the plural nom we find the curious form *abs-tshikk* That *tshikk* is very likely a demonstrative pronoun we have shown already, the pronoun itself would therefore only remain *abs*, you In Sindhi we have, besides *tavhiēn* and *tahēn*, also the form *avhiēn*, which apparently goes back to the pronominal base *vas* (*vasm*) with euphonic initial *a*=*avhiēn*. Quite in the same way the Kalāsha *abs* is formed In the formative plural we meet with *mimi* We are at a loss how to account for this form The only explanation that seems to offer itself is, that initial *m* is a change for *v*, so that *mimi* would stand for *vimi* This brings us to forms like the Greek *vueis*, *ὑμεis* (Ionian), which are derived from the Sanskrit base *यु* (=yu=sm)

c—The Demonstrative Pronouns

The Dardu dialects have no personal pronoun for the third person, as little as the Sanskrit *Prākṛit* and the modern idioms derived from them, they use instead *Demonstratives* Under the Ghilghiti, two demonstrative bases are given, *anū*, this, and *iō*, that Their declension is as follows

SINGULAR

Nom.	anu, masc,	nē, fem, this,*	rō, masc,	rē, fem, that
Form	anē+ē,	nē+ē	rō+ē,	rē+ē
Gen	anē+ē i,	nē+ē i	rō+ē i,	rē+ē i,
Dat.	anē+ē tē,	nē+ē tē	rō+ē tē	rē+ē tē,
Accus ?				
Instrum	anē+ē kātsh, m,	nē+ē kātsh, f	rō+ē kātsh, m,	rē+ē kātsh, f
Ab	anē+ē jō m,	nē+ē jō, f	rō+ē jō, m,	rē+ē-jō, f

PLURAL

Nom	anō, masc	nā, fem	rī, masc,	rā, fem †
Form	aninō,	ninō,	rinō	rinō
Genit	aninē i,	ninē i,	rinē i,	rinē i,
Dative	aninō tē,	ninō tē,	rinō tē,	rinō-tē,
Accus ?				
Instrum	aninō kātsh, m,	ninō kātsh, f,	rinō kātsh, m,	rinō kātsh, f
Ablative	aninō-jō,	ninō-jō,	rinō jō,	rinō jō,

In Sanskrit the pronominal base *ana* is no longer found in the nominative, but only as a supplementary base to *इद्* (instr sing *अनेन*), but in Pāli and *Prākṛit* it is used in some of the oblique cases, which shows quite clearly that *अन* (*Prākṛit* *अय*) is an independent pronominal base ‡ This is fully corroborated by the Ghilghiti In the Indian *Prākṛit* idioms this base has been entirely

* Under the verb (p 21) we find also masc. nus, he, fem. nes, rōs and rēs respectively

† Or, rēs and rās, see p 21
‡ Compare also the modern Persian *آن* that.

lost* The formative singular anēsa we take for the original genitive=anasya (अनस्य), which serves still for the genitive case, only that i (= इ) has been added to it. The formative plural aninō would point to a Prākṛit form anānam, to which the Sindhī inane corresponds. In the genitive i has been added, before which the final ō of the formative is changed to ē=aninē-i.

Curious it is, that in the formative of this pronoun, initial a (the real pronominal base) has been dropped altogether, but we find this already done in Prākṛit (as अ for अह), and in Pāli we have the nom. plural masc. nē and fem. nā, those

The pronoun iō is quite peculiar, and no trace of such a base can be detected either in Sanskrit-Prākṛit nor in any of the modern idioms of Northern India. The only trace we have is the Hindī interjectional particle rē or arē m., and rī, or arī fem., in calling out to an inferior person. But in the old Hinduī aiē and ari are used as a common interjectional particle, without involving any slight. The exact meaning of rē (arē) and rī (arī) has long been doubtful, and the change of gender in an interjectional particle made it very uncertain if rē and rī (arī) could at all be taken as such. Dr. Caldwell in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages* claimed arē† for the languages of the South, explaining it by 'slave?'. Though it would be very curious, that a Dravidian word of this kind should have become a common vocative particle in the North of India, it does by no means explain how the change of gender could take place, which is quite uncommon in an interjectional particle. It is true, that अरे is already found as an interjectional particle in Sanskrit, but it is not to be overlooked, that it only occurs in the later Sanskrit, when Prākṛit had already become the common language of the people. There can therefore be hardly any doubt, that rō (rai) is originally a pronoun, and that rē (rī feminine) is the vocative of it, denoting, *o, the one here!* The original base of this pronoun is da (oi ta), in Prākṛit always da (as देह, दे etc.). We have seen already, that d is frequently changed to l (in Pushtō quite a common phenomenon) da=la and l to r=ra or rō (compare with this the Latin ille=i-da in Sanskrit, Greek *δακρυμα*=Latin *lacrima*.) But we have the very same form in Pushtō too, viz, ra or la. In Pushtō we find in the oblique case of the pronoun of the first person अँ, to me, or अँ, literally, to this one.

The formative singular rēsē is to be explained in the same way

* The Sindhī makes an exception from this, as it has preserved in the sing. formative the form ina, inna, which may be identical with ana—supposing that i (n) is only a change

for a—(n). But this is still doubtful, though Bopp takes it as such.

† He compares it with the Telugu arē and the Tamil adā or adā, p. 444.

as anēsē (i.e., = rasya) The plural masculine rī points to an original rē = tē, and ra (fem.) to tāh (Sanskrit त्रा) The instrumental singular and plural is the same for both genders

In the *Astōrī* we find shōt as demonstrative pronoun, corresponding to the Sanskrit Prākṛit सो The genitive singular is shosso = Sanskrit तस्य, in the form shosso the old Prākṛit genitive termination ससा is most clearly distinguishable The formative singular is shessē, o being depressed to ē, to facilitate the accession of the case-affixes The nominative plural is shē (= Sansk ते) for the distant, and nyō (= Ghilghitī anī) for the near demonstrative Their respective genitive is shinē-1 and annē-1 and their formative shino and annō

In the *Arnyā* dialect the demonstrative pronoun is hē, fem. hes, genitive and formative singular masculine hatō, feminine horo, nominative plural masculine hamī, feminine he tshikk, genitive masculine hamitan, feminine likewise hamitan, the formative is identical with the genitive The base hē is identical with sō (or shō*) the genitive masculine hatō reminds us of the old Hindi where we likewise find तत्, hat, as formative singular (स having been hardened to t) The genitive feminine hōrō is peculiar It strikes us that in the plural another pronominal base has been substituted, hamī comes nearest to the Sanskrit हमी (singular हसौ), and the genitive and formative plural hamitan can easily be identified with the Sanskrit genitive plural हमीषां s (=sh) having been changed to t, as in the singular We do not know what to make of the nominative plural feminine he tshikk. We have already indicated above that tshikk is very likely a demonstrative base, but we must leave this for the present undecided †

In the *Kalāsha* dialect the base āsā is given, which remains as it seems, unchanged in the genitive singular and in the formative The nominative plural shēh (com) looks very curious In the plural genitive we find īsi, and in the formative āsi = shāsī. Asā we would identify with the Sanskrit demonstrative pronoun असौ that, though the plural shēh remains for the present a riddle, which we have no means to solve

6 — The Verb

The Dardu verb is full of interest, as we meet with many forms of which we cannot find a trace in the cognate idioms We can see at the first glance, that the conjugation of the Dardu verb is

* Dr. Leitner remarks expressly simply written it shō (properly shō), that in jō, j is to be pronounced like † In the dialogues tshikk is once the French j, we have therefore translated by "all."

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richer in form, than most of its sister dialects in the plains of India, though the grand features of the conjugational process are the same. We should very much like to know, how the *causal* verb is formed, for there can scarcely be a doubt, that the Dardic idioms are possessed of a *Causative*, there must also be a *Passive Voice* of some kind or another, but we cannot find any example of either. In the following lines we shall try to give a general survey of the conjugational process, in which many old forms, which are lost in Hindī, have been preserved.

The Infinitive

In *Ghilghitī* the *Infinitive* ends apparently in *ōki*, for all verbs given in the list, whatever their final root-vowel may be, have the termination *ōki*, as *arōki*, to bring (root *ar*), *tshakōki*, to see (root *tshak*). This termination is very puzzling. We know that the old Sanskrit infinitive termination *tum* has been lost in all the Prākṛit idioms (and for the greatest part already in Prākṛit itself), and that the *verbal noun* ending in *ana* has been substituted for it, so we find in Hindī *nā*, Sindhī, *anu*, Marāṭhī *anēn*, etc., even in Pushtō the infinitive ends in *al* = *ana*. We see that the *Astōrī* quite agrees with this formation of the infinitive, for we find there instead of *arōki* the form *areōnō*, instead of *tshakōki*, *tsha-keono*. The *Arnyā* and *Kalāsha* dialects seem to point on the other hand to the same form, for we find in *Arnyā* for the *Ghilghitī* *arōki*, *angīko*, and in *Kalāsha* *ōnik*. The terminations *ōki*, *īkō* and *īk* are apparently only variations of the same affix. But what is this affix likely to be? We find in Sindhī and in the old Hindūī the affix *kā*, feminine *kī* (= Sansk. इका) used in a similar way, as, Sindhī लुका, to be tossed about, लुकीको the being tossed about, old Hindūī, कटिकी's f, deliverance, from कुटना. The affix इका forms originally adjectives, and लुकीको, etc., signifies therefore (as a *secondary* theme derived from लुकन) *that which tosses about** and (as an *abstract noun*) *the tossing about*. The Infinitive as a *verbal noun* is therefore not the root of the verb, this must be looked for in the *imperative*, as we shall presently see.

2—*The Participle Present*

The *participle present* is formed by adding the affix *ēta*† to the root of the verb, as *tshak-ēta*, seeing, *ē-ta*, coming (Inf *ōki*, Imper *ē*), *ar-ēta*, bringing, feminine *ar-ēti*. This agrees quite with

* That forms like *tshakōki* are to be taken as *verbal nouns* may be seen from the phrase, *piōki kārē* (p. 31.) *for the sake of drinking*.

† Perhaps to be written *ēta*, fem.

ēti. We find also *ēti*, is this another nominative form, or is it not a locative, as it is still in use in Hindī, as *bolē*, in speaking?

the old Hinduī, which likewise forms the participle present by the affix *ētā* or *ēdā*, as करेता or करेदा now करता doing, we find already in Prākṛit करेन्त करन्त (Sansk. कृत, कन्त) The original nasal has been dropped in this affix, and in its stead the preceding vowel (originally a) lengthened to ē, to keep up the quantity of the syllable Afterwards ē was shortened to i, and then dropped altogether

3—The Participle Past

The participle past is formed by adding *ē* to the root of the verb, as, ar ē brought, tshak ē seen, gyē, gone* (p 32) The Hindi forms its participle past by adding *ā* to the root of the verb, as, देखा dēkh-ā, seen We know that the old Hinduī form is देखिआ dēkh-i-ā, as it is still to be found in Sindhī and Panjābī Dēkhiā is a Prākṛit form, instead of dēkhitā (by elision of t) We find also a past participle ending in *lō*, as bīlō, been (p 18) In Marāthī *ta* (ita, the affix of the participle past in Sanskrit) has been regularly changed to *l*, and in Pushtō the past participle is either formed by *ai* (=ā or ē, with elision of t) or *alai* (=ita) Other forms of this participle like *pī*, drunk, *rēy*, spoken, *bēy*, seated are very likely only euphonic variations instead of *pī-ē*, *rē ē*, *bē-ē*

4—The Imperative

The Imperative is formed by adding *ē* to the root of the verb, as ar ē, bring (Persian آوردن Imperative آر ar) The plural of the Imperative is nowhere given, but it seems to end in *eā*, as *areā* (p 24) In the old Hinduī the Imperative still ends in *i* in the singular, and the same termination is preserved in Sindhī (at least for all transitive verbs) The Imperative plural ends in *ō* or *abu* We find already in the lower Prākṛit dialects forms like करहि or करि, do thou, and in the plural करउ, *kara ū*, from which *karō* has been contracted The Dardu plural Imperative ending in *ā* goes back to the Prākṛit termination *aha*, which is the older form.

5—The Present or Subjunctive

In Ghilghitī the Present tense is conjugated as follows —

SINGULAR

1	Mas	arēm,	I bring, or, I may bring
2	Tus	arē m	} Thou bringest.
	„	arēni f †	

* It is, however, a question, if *arē* be not the participle past *conjunctive*, and the regular participle past *arēya*, etc., as it would appear from the *Preterite*, as exhibited hereafter

† The second person feminine ending in *ē ni* is quite peculiar, we are utterly at a loss how to account for it. Very likely it belongs to the *Present Definite*, which see

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3	Ros Res	} arēi,	He She	} brings
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PLURAL

1	Bes	arōn,	We bring,
2	Tzōs Tzās	} areāt	You bring
3	Rēs Rās	} areu,	They bring

According to this paradigm the verbal terminations are ēm, ē and fem ēni, ēi, ōn, eāt, ēn, which are far nearer to the old Prākṛit than the terminations now in use in the North Indian vernaculars. The Prākṛit terminations of the Present tense run thus amī, asī, adī or a-ī, āmō, attha or adha or aha, anti. In Ghilghiti these terminations have undergone very little change, amī has become ēm (Persian am, Hindī ūn, Sindhī ān, Panjābī ān), asī has first become ahi and, with elision of h, a-i=ē (Persian ē or ī, Hindī ēn, Sindhī and Panjābī likewise ēn), atī, Prākṛit already a-ī (by elision of d) has only changed a to ē=e-i (but Persian still older ad), in Hindī Sindhī, and Panjābī final ī has already been dropped=ē. The Prākṛit plural termination āmō (āmu) has become ōn—Persian im, Hindī ūn, Sindhī ūn, Panjābī iyē, the Ghilghiti has thus managed to distinguish between the first person singular and plural, whereas in Hindī both persons have become alike, attha has become eāt, which is very primitive—Persian also still id, whereas in Hindī, Sindhī, and Panjābī the Prākṛit termination aha has been changed to ō—old Hindī ahu or ahō. The termination of the third person plural anti has become ēn—Persian, and. In all the North Indian vernaculars t has been elided, as Hindī ēn, Sindhī anī (=anti), Panjābī an.

As we see from other examples given, the Present tense serves also at the same time for the *Future*. From this circumstance we conclude, that also in the Dardu dialects the Present has become a *Subjunctive* or Aorist, as it is generally but very wrongly called, that is to say, a tense which more or less corresponds to the Sanskrit *Potential* and has a wider range of meaning than the strict Present tense. Masculine arēm, etc., is therefore properly to be translated, I may or will bring. It is at any rate very remarkable that the Dardu dialects have made no attempt to form a new Future, after the proper Future tense had been altogether lost in the later Prākṛit dialects. The Pushtō has also retained the Present for the base of the Future, but at the same time added some distinguishing particle ʾ to mark it off as such, whereas the North Indian vernaculars have followed a variety of methods to make up again a Future. Yet it is not to be lost sight of that even the Hindī and Panjābī have formed their Future

on the base of the Present or rather Subjunctive, for चकूँमा is nothing else than a compound tense=चकूँमा chalūn gā; literally, I am gone (मा गिया) that I may go, that is to say I wish (will) to go* For this simple reason gā agrees as a participle past, with its subject in gender and number

6 —The Present Definite

This tense is conjugated in the following way —

SINGULAR

1	Mas	arēmus,	m	}	I am bringing
	"	arēnis,	f		
2	Tus	arēnō,	m	}	Thou art bringing
	"	arēni,	f		
3	Ros	arēyen,	m	}	He is bringing
	Res	arēyin,	f		

PLURAL

1	Bēs	arōnes, com		We are bringing
2	Tzōs m	} areanet,		You are bringing
	Tzās f			
3	Rēs m	} arēnen,		They are bringing
	Rās f			

It is most remarkable, that the Dardu dialects distinguish in the terminations of the verb the *masculine* and *feminine*, which is not to be found in any of the cognate idioms. But this is only apparent, in reality, as we shall see hereafter, all these forms are properly *participles*, to which the termination of the substantive verb "to be" accede so, that they really coalesce with them. *Arēmus* must be separated into *arēm* and *us*, feminine *arēn* and *is*. We see, on p 18, that the Present of the substantive verb 'to be' is *hanus*, and feminine *hanis*, I am. These two forms are again compounded of *hanu* and *s*, feminine *han* and *s*, *hanu* being the participle present (fem. *hanī*), to which the termination *s* (= *asmi*) accedes, literally, I am being†. In the Dardu dialects the Present Definite is formed in the same way as in the Hindi, *ve*, the Present of the substantive verb is added to the Subjunctive Present. In the Dardu the Present *hanūs* *hanis*, etc, is shortened in this way, as it appears, to *us*, *is*, etc, second person *nō*, *nē* or *ni* (= *hanō* masculine, feminine *hanī*). The third person singular *arēyen*, masculine, and *arēyin* are rather puzzling, according to all analogy, however, *en* must be the termination of the substan-

* The Hindi Future is, therefore, besides *hanū s*, etc, there must be some other form of the Present of the substantive verb in Dardu

† We have hardly a doubt that

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tive verb (feminine *m*) The *Asōrt* seems to point clearly to this, for there we find (instead of *hanu*) *hōn*, feminine *hēyn*. A similar termination must exist in *Ghulghatī* likewise, though, perhaps, now only used in compound verbs. In the first person plural (*arōn-es*) the termination *os* (*hanōs*) is shortened to *es*, which seems to be in use for both genders.

The form *areanet*, given for the second person plural, is apparently a mistake, the corresponding form of *bomus* (p 20), has in the second person plural *beätt*, the substantive verb itself is *hanëtt*, according to which we should expect a form like *areat-et*, or so. We must leave this undecided as unfortunately no other example is given, from which we might be able to draw a conclusion. In the third person plural, *arēn en*, we find again the termination *en* (*com*) as in the singular masculine.

7—*The Imperfect*

SINGULAR

1	Arémusus,	m	}	I was bringing or brought
	Arémisis,	f		
2	Tus aréso,	m	}	Thou wast bringing
	„ aréese,	f		
3	Ros aréso,	m	}	He } was bringing
	Res aréis,	f		

PLURAL

1	Bes arónasis,	com	We were bringing	
2	Tzōs } aréasit,		You were bringing	
	Tzās }			
3	Ris arēnis,	m	}	They were bringing
	Rās arēnisi,	f		

That the form in question is an *Imperfect*, can hardly be doubtful. It is compounded of *arem-u-sus*, etc., in the same way as the Present Definite is, with the only difference, that the Imperfect of the substantive verb is joined to it. This is (see p 19) *asūs*, feminine *asis*, etc., *asū* and its feminine *asī* being likewise participles (compare the Panjābī *sā*, feminine *sī*, Hindi *thā*, feminine *thī*) to which the Present of the substantive verb accedes (in its shortened terminations), this will sufficiently account for the (thus necessary) distinction of the two genders. The *u* between *arem* and *sus* is, to all appearance, only a *euphonic conjunctive* vowel, which varies according to the sequence of the vowels, therefore *arem-usus*, feminine *arem-i-sis*, the *a* of *asūs*, *asis*, etc., seems to be dropped, when preceded by a vowel.

The second person singular feminine *aréese* is remarkable, according to analogy it should be *arési* or *arése*. In the third person

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singular masculine arē-so (asū) final u is changed to o, the accent being drawn forward to arē. The feminine arēis is quite peculiar - it ought to be arēsi (are-asī). In the first person plural we find that the initial a of asiss, etc., has been restored, as, arōn-asia (asis). The second person plural arē-asit is a contraction from areāt-asit (asiēt). In the third person plural masculine aiēn-is, is seems to be a termination, only used when compounded with another verb, the absolute form being asē, in the feminine arēn-is; the termination is seems likewise to be a shortening of asi.

That our conjecture with reference to the formation of this tense is correct is corroborated by the *Astōrī*. There we find the forms arēmalus masculine, feminine arēmalis,* etc. In *Astōrī* the Imperfect of the substantive verb is asillus (very likely only asilus, as there is no reason for a double l), feminine asilis, asilu, feminine asili is the participle past, formed exactly (from अस to be) like the Marāthī असला (अ = त), to which the terminations of the substantive verb accede, as in Sindhī (hō-si), Marāthī (asal-ōñ).

This formation of the Imperfect, on the base of the Present with the addition of the Imperfect of the substantive verb, is quite peculiar to the Dardu dialects, with regard to this tense they quite struck out a path of their own, being apparently guided by the formation of the Present Definite.

8 — The Preterite

SINGULAR

1	Mas	arēgas,	m	}	I brought
	"	arēgis,	f		
2	Tus	arēga,	m	}	Thou broughtest
	,	arēye	f		
3	Ros	arēgu,	m	}	He } brought.
	Res	arēyi,	f		

PLURAL

1	Bes	arēyes,	com	We brought
2	Tzōs } Tzās }	arēyet,		You brought.
3	Ris } Rās }	arēye,		They brought

It seems that there is only a *Preterite* or Aorist in the Dardu dialects, a *Perfect* is at any rate, if it may exist, not given in the conjugational survey.

The form *arēga* seems only to be a euphonic change from *arēya*, the participle past. To this participle the terminations of the

* The forms given on p. 23 are analogy they should be written, as apparently misprints, according to all we have done.

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substantive verb accede, as this is the case in the Sindhi Preterite First person masculine aréga-s, feminine arégi-s, Sindhi, si— as आयेसि Ayu-se masculine, feminine आयसि Aya-se, I am come, second person arégá masculine, feminine aréye, in Sindhi similarly, en masculine, an feminine, as आय ay-ēn, आहसं āi-añ, thou art come In the third person singular, arēgu and aréyi seem to be mere participles, without a termination, arēgu being apparently another form of the participle past masculine The plural of the participle past seems to be aréye, to which the terminations *es* and *et* accede, no distinction of gender being made in the plural In the third person plural, we have only the plural of the participles without any termination This is fully borne out by the *Astōrī*, where we have arā-s, arē s (very likely an-s, as elsewhere too), plural arés, feminine arē-es, etc

It is very remarkable, that the participle past is used in the Dardu dialects in an *active* sense too, as in Persian, whereby they have managed to form a Preterite of the *active voice* from *Transitive* verbs, whereas in the idioms of Upper India a *passive construction* is resorted to, the past participle of *transitive* verbs having only a *passive* meaning The only exception is made by the *Bangālī*, which has likewise used the past participle in an *active* sense

9—*The Pluperfect*

SINGULAR.

1	Mas	arégasus,	m	}	I had brought
		arégasis,	f		
2	Tus	arégaso,	m	}	Thou hadst brought
	"	arégise,	f		
3	Ros	arégasu,	m	}	He } had brought
	Res	aregasi,	f		

PLURAL.

1	Bes	arégeses,	com	We had brought	
2	Tzos	arégeset,		You had brought	
	Tzās				
3	Ris	arégese,	m	}	They had brought.
	Rās	arégisi,	f		

The Pluperfect is formed in the same way as the Preterite, only *sus*, etc, being added to the past participle, as shown already under the *Imperfect* In the third person plural feminine, we meet with the termination *asi*, which corresponds to the feminine *rā asi*,* they were (p 19) *Ij* seems to be another termi-

* Should very likely be written *asi* according to *hany* (p 18)

nation of the feminine plural, for in Astōrī we find only instead of hanṇi the form hanī. The Astōrī affixes, as shown already under the Imperfect, the termination *alus*

In conclusion, we will give a fable from Dr Leitner's *Dardu Legends*, p 17, composed in the Astōrī dialect. It runs thus —

Eyk tshéekeyn kokói ek asilli, sese soni thul déli, se tshéy se kokói te zanma lāo wēi, tule du dēy thē, se ēkenu lang bāi, kokói dēr páy, mýy

Moral Anēsey manī anī hanī.

Lāo arēm the apejo lang biló

From the grammatical remarks we have premised, we can pretty fairly explain this piece

Eyk or *ek* is one (p 7), *tshéy* is woman, and keyn apparently the feminine affix of the genitive (referring to kokói, feminine, hen) It would be very remarkable, if the affix *kā*, *kē* should be used in the Astōrī, else the genitive sign in Astōrī is *éy éi*, or, as it appears *eyn*. Perhaps *tshéeke* is to be taken as one word *Asilli* = was, feminine (p 19) Sese, ablative singular, *from that, by that* (else written *je-se*) Soni is the genitive singular of gold. From this it would appear, that *ey* is only to be pronounced like short *e* (equal to *i*) *Thul* egg, feminine. How is it to be written, *thul* or *tul*? We do not hesitate to consider *thul* a faulty spelling, as no *aspirates* are to be found in the Dardu dialects. The derivation of *tul* is unknown to me. *Déli*, was given, the past participle—*ditā* (Pan-jābī), as explained above. The literal translation runs, therefore, thus “*Of a woman one hen was, by that an egg of gold was given. Se tshéy se*, from that woman, *se* is apparently an ablative postfix, corresponding to the Ghilghiti *sō* (*jō*), the affix *nyō*, put down for the Astōrī is not to be found here. *Zanma* signifies *food*, origin unknown, *lāo* signifies much (p 13), in Ghilghiti *bōdō*, *wēi* is the feminine of the past participle, and *zanma* must therefore be feminine, we cannot find the meaning of *wēi* amongst the list of verbs. *Tulé* is plural, eggs. With regard to *dēy-thē* (or *dēy té*)—*toki* signifies to do, *dēy té* is very likely a compound verb like the Hindi *दिना करना*, to be in the habit of giving, it would therefore signify *it will be in the habit of giving*, (in future) it will (always) give two eggs. *Sé*, that (*ie*, woman), *ekenu*, from one the *nu* seems to be the ablative postfix, identical with *nyō*. *Lang* is an adjective, the exact signification of which is not known, very likely its meaning is *deprived*. *Kokói dēr*, the stomach of the hen, *dēr* is put down on p 6, origin unknown. *Kokói* has no sign of the genitive, is the genitive affix *i* perhaps dispensed with, when the noun ends in *i*? or does it form a compound (Tatpuru-sha) with *dēr*? *Páy* (*pāi*), very likely a past participle (feminine), to burst, Hindi *फटना*, *mýy*, died *ie*, the *Kokói*, (Hindi *कुकी*)

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Sanskrit मृत् (ṛtī) Mūa corresponds exactly with the Hindī मृत् = Sanskrit मृत, dead

The first part of the moral Anésey maní aní haní signifies literally “*of this (anese) the meaning (maní) is (haní) this (aní apparently feminine, as haní)*” The following words are, we believe, to be interpreted thus Lāo arēm té, *having made* (or said, as in Hindī, where करना is used in the same sense), *I will bring* (get) *much*, ape-sō lang biló, *he became deprived of the little* (he had) Apo signifies in Ghilghitī and very likely in Astōrī also, little (p 13), Sanskrit अप, sō is postfix, *from*, biló, *he became* (p 18)

There can be little doubt that, if more Dardu stories are brought to our knowledge, the grammatical structure of these dialects will soon be satisfactorily settled.

The public is indebted to Dr Leitner for the discovery of these most interesting idioms, which, when once more known in their details, will shed many a ray of light on the development of the cognate idioms in the plains of India. They involve a most interesting philological problem,—how idioms, identical and collateral with those in the plains, have, though apparently totally separated from them, gone through the same process of internal decomposition and reconstruction. The Dardu races, like their brethren the Kāfirs in the Hindū Kūsh, are at present, from all we know, sunk in the deepest ignorance, but the day is perhaps not far distant, when even these barbarous or semi-barbarous members of the great Arian family will be reclaimed to a civilised life, which can only be done, in the first instance, by an acquaintance with their language. He who opens the language of a barbarous race, lays thereby the foundation-stone of its future civilisation.

E TRUMPP

ART V—DEGRADATION OR DEVELOPMENT

Primitive Culture By Edward B Tylor 2 vols London John Murray, 1871

THE author of "Researches into the early History of Mankind" has given to the world a very valuable addition to the particular department of ethnology which he cultivates, in these volumes. He has made himself, by an enormous amount of labour and care, one of the most reliable authorities regarding the primeval customs and beliefs of mankind. The book before us contains a vast amount of materials which are partially digested into general theories, and which afford a foundation for a great deal of thought regarding most important subjects connected with the history of man. We shall make it our object in the present paper to study carefully the two opposite ethnological theories with which Mr Tylor is occupied in this work, and which he has called the *degradation* and the *development* theory respectively.

It has been a widely prevalent belief in many parts of the world that the present race of men is composed of sadly degenerated descendants of primitive ancestors who were greatly superior to any present representatives of the human race. We need not now enquire into the origin of this belief, the fact of its existence and widespread prevalence is sufficient for our purpose. We can trace it in the worship of ancestors which is the characteristic religion of China and which prevails throughout the whole of the East, we can see its operation in all the legends of a golden age, when mortals were considered fit companions of the gods, and when exploits of wonder and deeds of daring were performed by men upon whom the favour of heaven had rested. The same belief has resulted in the modern theological doctrine of a primeval Paradise and a subsequent Fall, which lies at the foundation of a large part of mediæval theological speculation. In this doctrine, it is assumed that the first pair of the human race were created in a state of moral and intellectual perfection, that a full revelation was made to them of God's nature and laws, and that all the faculties and capacities of human nature were found in them in a state of perfection. It is assumed that they continued in this state of moral and intellectual perfection until, by the seduction of an evil spirit, they broke a certain apparently arbitrary commandment, that then they fell from their perfection and their purity, were driven from paradise and the presence of God, and became subject for the first time to death and "all the ills which flesh is heir to." It is assumed that after this, wickedness multiplied, that from henceforth the vast majority of men were cut off from all knowledge of God

except the traditions and relics of that original revelation which was made to man in his condition of perfection and happiness, which traditions and relics, however were not sufficient for their moral and spiritual guidance, and that to a very small minority, a chosen section of the human race, a gradual revelation was made which should, after many centuries had elapsed, be made known to the whole world for its enlightenment and salvation. Thus this theory maintains an absolute degeneration of the whole of the human race with reference to the original condition of our first ancestors, while at the same time it admits of a certain relative progress, brought about by supernatural means, in a small section of the race, as compared with the vast majority who continued to sink, by the working of natural causes, into deeper and more hopeless degradation.

There are many, however, who hold a theory of degeneration of a much less extreme and more philosophical form but not differing essentially from that now described. "It has practically resolved itself into two assumptions. First, that the history of culture began with the appearance on earth of a semi-civilized race of men, and second, that from this stage culture has proceeded in two ways, backward to produce savages, and forward to produce civilized men" *.

This degeneration theory has received many rude shocks in recent times from a great many different quarters. Geologists tell us that the earliest relics of human life upon the earth indicate that man's first condition was one of savagery, that he had nothing but rude stone implements, that he was ignorant of the use of fire, and that he advanced gradually through the stone, bronze, and iron ages to his present state of culture. Philologists give us a kind of evidence, limited in extent, which leads to a similar conclusion. History fails to establish the theory of degradation because it does not begin till comparatively recent times. Many of those who look upon the Bible as containing the oldest true account of man's existence, do not admit that it supports a doctrine of a primitive state of advancement and a subsequent decline. And finally, ethnology has collected an enormous mass of evidence bearing upon the question, which every careful and unprejudiced student must admit to have great influence in overturning that view of human degradation which has so long and in so many countries borne sway over the human mind.

The general thesis which Mr Tylor endeavours to maintain in the two volumes before us, is thus stated in his own words — "That the savage state in some measure represents an early condition of mankind, out of which the higher culture has gradually

been developed or evolved, by processes still in regular operation as of old, the result showing that, on the whole, progress has prevailed over relapse." In making a brief review of the attempt to maintain this thesis, we find the work naturally dividing itself into four great portions. In the first of these evidence is collected from relics of primitive arts such evidence as has been rendered familiar to modern readers by the science of Prehistoric Archaeology. To this must be added the facts for the knowledge of which we are indebted to the study of language. This portion of the work is manifestly only preparatory to that which follows in the second part, and which is really the most important of them all, inasmuch as it furnishes the key by which the author explains all the psychological and other difficulties that meet him afterwards, namely, the doctrine of souls, or Animism. In the third great portion the doctrine of souls is merged into the more extensive and complicated doctrines of Spirits and Deities, leading us more immediately to a study of various systems of religion. Finally, we have a long and interesting chapter on religious cultus, being an account of important religious ceremonies with their meaning and bearing upon the general subject of discussion. We shall give our attention successively to these four great classes of subjects.

I. In dealing with the great and various mass of facts which constitute the history of general human culture, the author appears to set out with two leading hypotheses which it is his object to establish. These hypotheses may be thus briefly stated. First, that there is amongst men a power of developing culture from the rudest beginnings, and second that culture thus developed has an invariable tendency to survive through succeeding generations. With reference to the first of these two propositions the author admits that a people may degenerate from a comparatively high state of culture and also that elevation from a low state of culture is frequently the result of contact with more civilized races. Thus the out-lying offshoots of a great tribe or race are frequently placed in unfavourable circumstances, and, consequently, of necessity degenerate from the condition of their brethren who are more favourably situated. Thus also when a more civilized race comes into close contact with a less civilized one, a transmission of culture takes place by which the latter is elevated, unless, indeed, the difference in culture between the two be so great that the latter is corrupted and ruined by acquiring the more artificial habits and inclinations of their powerful neighbours. But independently of these two occasional results of peculiar circumstances, there is amongst men a certain power—an inventive faculty—by which an instrument, an art, an ability is developed into something better. "Throughout the various topics of Prehistoric Archaeology, the force and convergence of its testimony

upon the development of culture are overpowering. The relics discovered in gravel beds, caves, shell-mounds, terramares, lake-dwellings, earthworks, the results of an exploration of the superficial soil in many countries, the comparison of geological evidence, of historical documents, of modern savage life, corroborate and explain one another. The megalithic structures, menhirs, cromlechs, dolmens, and the like, only known to England, France, Algeria, as the work of races of the mysterious past, have been kept up as matters of modern construction and recognized purpose among the ruder indigenous tribes of India. The series of ancient lake-settlements which must represent so many centuries of successive population fringing the shores of the Swiss lakes, have their surviving representatives among rude tribes of the East Indies, Africa, and South America. Outlying savages are still heaping up shell-mounds like those of far-past Scandinavian antiquity. The burial-mounds still to be seen in civilized countries have served at once as museums of early culture and as proofs of its savage or barbaric type. It is enough, without entering further here into subjects fully discussed in modern special works, to claim the general support given to the development theory of culture by Prehistoric Archæology.*

But the facts of Prehistoric Archæology are not, according to our author, the only ones which tend to establish the proposition in question. The history and antiquities of the useful arts attest the existence of a natural power of invention and development amongst all races of men. The appearance of any art in a particular locality, where it cannot be shown to be foreign in its origin, is a *prima facie* evidence that it is indigenous amongst the people with whom it is found. And if its history could be traced, the probability is that it could be shown to be the result of a development from a still simpler and ruder original. The researches of philologists lead to a similar conclusion. Language grows, which means that men have a power of multiplying and rendering more expressive the signs of their feelings and thoughts. Those products of the imagination which we call myths also grow; they are developed in accordance with natural laws which have already been partially discovered, but which still remain a subject of interesting scientific enquiry.

The second proposition which Mr Tylor endeavours to establish is, that any element of culture once developed amongst a people has an invariable tendency to survive, even long after its meaning has been forgotten, and the general culture of the people has advanced far beyond it. There is certainly nothing very recondite in this proposition, nothing which would seem to a casual observer

* Primitive Culture I, 55.

to be at all striking. Yet its very simplicity and obviousness is an evidence of its scientific truth, and the number of facts and illustrations which the author has brought to bear upon it renders the discussion one of extreme interest. It is only a particular way of stating that principle of connection which binds together different generations of men into a harmonious unity. The fathers give to their children that knowledge and those habits which they have themselves inherited or developed. The children receive this inheritance with filial reverence, preserve it in some respects unchanged, develop it in some of its elements to suit their advancing civilization or changed circumstances. Frequently a particular ancestral custom or notion continues amongst a people long after the general condition of civilization has advanced far beyond that in which it originated. Such a custom or notion is called by our author a "survival," it is a relic of the past, a fossilized product of a time and a people long gone by. As a survival it cannot be understood except through a knowledge of its history. A knowledge of its history furnishes likewise an important element towards the study of the past history and condition of the people.

These two principles which we have thus briefly examined furnish the key to the whole of the work before us. The author makes use especially of what, by a happy invention, he calls survivals for the purpose of solving many of the difficult problems with which he grapples. It would be impossible in the course of a brief article to do any justice to the wonderful variety of fact and circumstance which are made use of in the elaboration and support of his theory. All that we can do is to refer to some of the important results which he has reached and some of the consequences which follow from them. Carrying with us then the leading principles which he has unfolded in what we have called the first part of his work, we shall advance to the consideration of the second which comprehends the doctrine of Souls.

II. In this doctrine the author sees the essential element of religion. A people may not hold any clear belief regarding a Supreme Being, or future retribution, or any of the other great doctrines which constitute the religious belief of a higher civilization, but if they possess a simple belief in the existence of Spiritual Beings, either human or not human, they cannot be described as non-religious. This belief is the root-element of all religion, it appears to be almost universal in its prevalence, it is the original trunk upon which all the other elements of the higher religions are grafted. "The conception of a personal soul or spirit among the lower races may be defined as follows.—It is a thin, unsubstantial human image, in its nature a sort of vapour, film, or shadow, the cause of life and thought in the individual

it animates, independently possessing the personal consciousness and volition of its corporeal owner, past or present, capable of leaving the body far behind to flash swiftly from place to place, mostly impalpable and invisible, yet also manifesting physical power, and especially appearing to men waking or asleep as a phantasm separate from the body of which it bears the likeness, able to enter into, possess, and act in the bodies of other men, of animals, and even of things”*

How this conception of the soul has been attained may perhaps be inferred from the language used by savage and other races in describing it. It is frequently spoken of as a *shade* or shadow similar to that unsubstantial image caused by our bodies intercepting the light of the sun. It is spoken of as breath or air, thus being likened to that essential condition of life, the vital air which we breathe. It may be suggested by dreams and visions, by the passing of the breath from the body at death, and by many other similar phenomena of human life.

However this conception of the soul may have been acquired, it manifestly contains within itself elements which only require a little development and elaboration in order to produce some of the most important elements of the world's great religious systems. The soul, according to savage conceptions, is capable of departing from the body even during life, as for example, in dreams when the person fancies himself far away from the place where his body lies. At death, it is absolutely certain that the soul does leave the body, but amongst few, if any, savage peoples is it believed to cease to exist. Various views are entertained regarding what becomes of it after it has left the body, and from the nature of these views we can draw important conclusions regarding the religious and moral condition of those who hold them. The highest moral conceptions of a people will undoubtedly exhibit themselves in connection with this belief regarding the future condition of the souls of their deceased friends or enemies. And Mr Tylor has placed in the hands of moral philosophers, most important materials for supporting, or modifying, or over-throwing current ethical doctrines. Professor Calderwood, writing in the *Contemporary Review* of January 1872, thinks that “recent investigations of savage life are tending towards a confirmation of an intuitionist philosophy, and what is now required to make this more manifest, is a rigid scrutiny of the vast mass of evidence now at command such as would make it possible to throw off the accidental, and clearly mark out the constant and uniform testimony of the several stages of life on the highway towards civilization.” Probably this writer is somewhat biassed by his desire to support a

pet theory, and we think it is a pity that formidable names such as "intuitional," "development," and many others should exercise such a power over men whose sole object should be to reach the truth. We shall examine as thoroughly as we can in this brief article the ethical elements which show themselves in the vast mass of facts which Mr Tylor has collected from the records of savage nations regarding the soul.

The leading essential fact connected with the soul's existence which is of world-wide distribution is, of course, that it continues to exist *separate* from the body which it leaves at death. Now in this continuity of existence, the soul may either be connected with some other physical organism, or may have a separate spiritual existence. "The one is the theory of the Transmigration of Souls, which has indeed risen from its lower stages to establish itself among the huge religious communities of Asia, great in history, enormous even in present mass, yet arrested and, as it seems, henceforth, unprogressive in its development, but the more highly educated world has rejected the ancient belief, and it now only survives in Europe in dwindling remnants. Far different has been the history of the other doctrine, that of the independent existence of the personal soul after the death of the body in a Future Life. Passing onward through change after change in the condition of the human race, modified and renewed in its long ethnic course, this great belief may be traced from its crude and primitive manifestations among savage races to its establishment in the heart of Christianity, where the faith in a future existence forms at once an inducement to goodness, a sustaining hope through suffering and across the fear of death, and an answer to the perplexed problem of the allotment of happiness and misery in this present world by the expectation of another world to set this right" *.

With reference to the special ethical question which we wish to discuss, it makes very little difference to us whether we are dealing with beliefs regarding transmigration or continued independent spiritual existence. We find ethical notions prevailing amongst the one class of belief as well as the other. The character of an individual in his life in one body determines his condition in subsequent births as frequently as in the case of separate future existence. Now if we examine the notions of savages or barbarians regarding the state of the soul after death, we may arrange them apparently into three different classes. First, we have those notions in which the soul is represented as enjoying a mere continuance of its existence in the present life without any material change except that of being separated from the body, or joined to another similar body. Secondly, we have another class of notions in which certain qualities or conditions not properly ethical, such as bravery, rank, endurance,

determine the future state of the disembodied or transmigrated soul. And finally, we see amongst many peoples, especially those approaching the higher culture, a distinct recognition of moral retribution in a future life, the good being rewarded and the evil punished. Let us see what we can learn from this analysis.

A glance at these classes of notions regarding a future life discovers a transition to a distinct ethical consciousness, but in the first and simplest theories there appears to be no element which we now recognize as ethical. A study of the illustrations which Mr Tylor has collected bearing upon the simple continuance theory will lead us to the conclusion, however, that there are certain primary elements which form, as it were, the ground-work upon which moral principles may afterwards be based. Wild Indian tribes look forward to a land where they shall engage in labours and enjoy pleasures similar to those of the present life. They collect together in their imagination all that is good, all that they take pleasure in, they form with this a conception of an ideal existence better than the reality which is around them, they project this ideal image into the future life and believe firmly that they will one day realize it.

Now there is not much here that *we* would consider ethical, but there appear to be the same principles in operation which in a higher culture produce true ethical doctrines. There is the formation of an ideal conception of life—something to be aimed at, and to be hoped for. There is a gathering up in the mind of all that is thought to be best and happiest in human life, and a distinct hope of attaining to it. Now what is the highest aim of a moral life, as we understand it, but the striving after an ideal? And if our ideal be higher, more complex, and more perfect than that of a wild Indian, still the mental principles involved appear to be essentially the same.

We now ascend a step higher and observe a second class of notions regarding a future life in which there is an important element added to that which we have been considering. The life which now is continues beyond the grave, there is here also a projected ideal of that which is most esteemed in the present life. But in addition to this there is a distinct recognition of a causal connection between present character and future condition. Those who have been brave in battle, who have shown fortitude in suffering, who have occupied an exalted rank, are rewarded by a life in every way desirable in the spirit land. Thus the enjoyment of the ideal life is considered the appropriate reward of the most estimable character. And thus there is a distinct recognition of a better and a worse in human character, of something considered noble which we should seek after, and of something considered unworthy which we should shun. We do not find here any

ich abstract ideas as right or wrong, the good or virtue. But we do find certain qualities and conditions which are considered worthy of approbation, and deserving of reward. And undoubtedly this conception of the worthiness of these qualities and conditions must practically operate as a rule of life, and therefore with reference to the mode of its operation it is essentially moral.

We cannot, therefore, agree with Mr Tylor when he says that on the whole the evidence tends toward the opinion that the primitive savage doctrine of the future life either involves no moral retribution, or accepts it only at a rudimentary stage.* On the contrary, we think that the principles which we have seen in operation are essentially moral. The ethical standard—the ideal life—of the savage is not that of the more cultured man. But still there is an ideal life either as a present object of approbation or projected into the future, and the very existence of this ideal object of approbation and desire constitutes a moral aim in life.

Undoubtedly the moral elements of such doctrines are rudimentary, that is to say, the moral standard has not been developed, the idea of abstract good or virtue has not been elaborated, the notion of duty, as distinguished from particular actions which one could do and a particular character which is deserving of approbation, has not been conceived. But there is very distinctly exhibited a sort of frame or setting into which these developed ethical products may be fitted as soon as they are formed. As knowledge increases and experience is gained, the idea of a worthy life may be modified, but still as an ideal it must always occupy the same position. The abstract ideas of right and wrong, the good and evil, are, in the higher culture, distinctly seen, whereas in the lower they are not, but the principles in accordance with which these ideas are formed appear to be at work in the lowest culture, and the mode in which these ideas influence the life finds close analogy in the lowest culture. The ethical elements, therefore, which we would vindicate for savages do not consist in these developed abstract ideas of right and wrong with which we are familiar. They consist rather in certain modes of thought—what Kant would call *Forms*—certain ways of looking at life and the aim of life, the matter of these forms being supplied by an ever varying and continually accumulating experience. The most primitive and therefore most essential of these modes or forms of ethical thought is the formation of an ideal life, an actually unrealized life in spirit-land. Perhaps this ideal is first formed in projection, it were, into the future, and afterwards recalled into the present.

* II, 83.

and applied to certain qualities and conditions of actual life. However this may be, the next important form of ethical thought appears to be the connection of the ideal life as a consequence with the actual life as realized. And the only other step necessary to the completion of ethical doctrine is the formation of certain moral ideas as right and wrong, which constitute the matter that experience supplies to fit in to those primitive forms which we have been considering. These abstract moral ideas, however, are found only in religious systems of peoples who have advanced considerably on the high road to civilization. Amongst the ancient Egyptians, the well-known "Book of the Dead" is the record of the existence of an idea of virtue and a belief in future retribution. In the hymns of the Rig-veda abstract moral ideas are continually appearing, showing that the writers of those hymns had advanced to tolerably matured ethical conceptions. As to the manner in which these moral ideas are formed, the historical study which we are conducting does not inform us. They appear more or less clearly expressed in various systems of higher culture. They apparently take the place of other cruder and more concrete conceptions which form the ideal ethical life of more primitive peoples. They are not, therefore, essential elements of universal ethical doctrine. That which is essential must be formal, and we have endeavoured to indicate briefly and crudely what we think are the important formal principles.

It is with regret that we leave the discussion of this part of the subject, as we think that historical analysis alone can decide some of the disputed questions in morals. The old battle-field between the theory of intuition and others opposed to it appears to be shifted, and moralists would be much better occupied in endeavouring to make an accurate investigation and analysis of the ethical phenomena of history, than in engaging in never-ending speculative discussions about questions which mere discussion can never decide. We now advance to a study of the doctrine of spirits.

III We have collected in this third part most important elements for the study of what has been called the natural history of religions. In old days when the adherents of every great religious system made an exhaustive division of religions into the absolutely true and the absolutely false, viewing his own religious system as the sole representative of the former class, there was not believed to be that community of principles and origin between different religious systems which scientific investigation is now demonstrating. But careful and unbiassed enquiry is gradually leading men to the conviction that religious systems are not isolated phenomena, that there is not one of them which is not intimately connected at many points with all the others which have preceded it or co-exist with it. This conviction is at the foundation of the various modern

attempts to construct a science of religions. No science of any series of phenomena can be constructed unless those phenomena are recognized as governed by laws and connected together upon some rational and discoverable principles. The work before us cannot claim to be a science of religions, but it contains a great and varied collection of facts systematically arranged, which must be most valuable to the professed student of theology. The general principle in subordination to which the facts are arranged is expressed in the following sentence — "It seems as though the conception of a human soul, when once attained to by man, served as a type or model on which he framed not only his ideas of other souls of lower grade, but also his ideas of spiritual beings in general, from the tiniest elf that sports in the long grass up to the Heavenly Creator and Ruler of the world, the Great Spirit!" * The facts which are adduced appear, in a general way, to bear out the truth of this theory.

The most direct and immediate employment of the conception of the human soul in religion is, of course, manes-worship or the worship of the souls of deceased ancestors. In this case the objects of worship are actual human souls, existing separately from any material embodiment. But in the great majority of lower religious forms the spirit is supposed capable of becoming embodied, of connecting itself more or less permanently with some material object. Thence arises the theory of possession, of spirits, usually malign, taking up their abode in human or animal bodies and speaking and acting through them. Thence arises Fetichism, in which spiritual beings, good or evil, are supposed to be embodied in particular objects, to act through them, to communicate by them. Thence arises the worship of "stocks and stones," believed to be an embodiment of some spiritual agent. From this origin, by a little development, springs the practice of idolatry, which involves essentially two ideas, that of the idol being, in a sense, a representation of the unseen spirit, and also its embodiment or abode. The various forms of nature-worship are but different manifestations of the same ground-conception. The great powers of nature are personified, considered to be exhibitions of the power of some spiritual beings analogous to the human soul, and these occupy a ruling position in the great hierarchy of polytheism. From this point, the exercise of the generalising power leads either to a religious dualism of good and evil as amongst the Persians, or to a kind of monotheism in which some one of the great deities is elevated to a supreme position, the others being degraded to the rank of lower deities, or angels or demons. Into any criticism of the details

which are brought to support these positions we cannot at present enter, but shall make some general observations which occur to us regarding their influence upon current theological beliefs.

1 If the facts contained in these volumes be true, and the inferences naturally following from them consequently well founded, the hard and fast line of demarcation which has been supposed to separate Christianity from other and lower forms of religion must, to a great extent, be obliterated. Many modern Christians have been accustomed to look upon Christianity as the only divine religion, all others being so called human religions, as the only absolutely true religion, all others being absolutely false, or if true at all containing only so much truth as has been received by tradition from some primeval revelation, or as has been excogitated by the natural reason of man. Such, however, is not the conception of the relations of Christianity to other religious systems which we should form from the book before us. We find that there are innumerable beliefs connected with religion which appear to take their rise in their crudest form amongst savages or barbarians, which reappear more or less purified amongst people of higher stages of civilization, until finally they are incorporated in the Christian system. The mass of evidence at our disposal appears to lead to the conclusion that there is an actual historical connection between lower and higher systems of religious beliefs, that the former have formed as it were the stepping-stones by which the minds of men have risen to the latter, and that all religious conceptions have advanced and become purified, from our human point of view of course, by keeping pace with the progress made amongst the other mental and moral elements of our constitution. The strangely complicated character of human life and human history forbids us to isolate any one element as the religious, and fancy that it can be implanted and make progress independently of all the others, it forbids us also to isolate any historical period or people and fancy that they drew their religious beliefs from a source entirely different from that which is the common origin of all religious belief. We may maintain strenuously that Christianity is the best and truest and purest form of religious life that the world has ever seen, and also maintain just as strenuously that the most essential elements of Christian belief are found more or less crudely exhibited amongst peoples whom we look upon as heathens.

2 As another conclusion from this investigation, we point out that the distinction usually drawn between natural and revealed religion is untenable. "The distinction between natural and revealed religion, as commonly understood, does not mean simply that there are truths which are peculiar to revelation, or that Christianity has communicated to us what we could not have learnt from

any other source of knowledge, and has exerted on the human spirit a divine and holy influence unattained and unattainable by any other moral agency, for, so understood, the distinction does not seem to admit of question. But the notion generally attached to the phrase 'natural religion' is that there are certain religious ideas, principles, doctrines, which are within the province of human reason, and have actually been evolved by it, as distinguished from certain other ideas and doctrines which lie altogether beyond that province, and which can be known only by a special authoritative communication from heaven. Examining the contents of our religious belief, it is supposed that we can discern in it certain elements which are not exclusively Christian, which the human mind is capable of excogitating from its own resources without supernatural aid, which were actually recognized by thoughtful men before Christianity, and are still believed by many who do not accept the peculiar or characteristic doctrines of the gospel." In this distinction thus eloquently stated in a recent lecture by Dr Caird for the purpose of condemning it, we have a position which cannot be maintained consistently with the facts and conclusions contained in the volumes under review. All religion is in a sense "natural," as all religion may be in another sense revealed. All religion is relative to the faculties of our human nature and is the expression of our most deeply felt spiritual wants and longings, and is therefore in that sense natural. All true religion, likewise, should have reference to something out of ourselves, to something higher and better than ourselves, should be to our minds an interpretation of the highest meaning of things around us, and of our own lives in relation to them, and in this sense should be a true revelation in our hearts of the divine. Hence, if we would wish to understand one religion in its fulness we must study others which have prepared for and led up to it. And in making this study it will not do to abstract certain elements supposed to be natural, rational, or the reverse, and arrange them in different bundles and call them by different names. This will be doing violence to the facts of history, to our own nature, and to truth. We must take the elements of our human nature to constitute one whole, and the religious facts of history to be a great harmonious unity, if we would wish to understand the nature, the powers, and the complex life which we possess.

3 The history of religions is of something essentially subjective, a history of the subjective notions and beliefs which have borne sway over the minds of men. It matters not whether we turn our attention to the lowest or the highest form of religious belief, this is true. The external material facts of the universe are everywhere and at all times pretty much the same. The exter-

nal events of man's life have varied greatly, it is true, at different times and in different countries of the world, but the variation has been chiefly in accidental circumstances. Religious history and progress are essentially subjective, although expressing themselves in objective forms. This applies to all religion, whether so-called natural or revealed, as well as to revelation, the source from which religion is excited and advanced. Revelation is an inward light in the heart of man, enabling man to interpret the meaning of external nature, or to put a meaning upon otherwise, to him, meaningless phenomena. The language of any so-called book-revelation is but the expression recorded for the use of after times of the religious light and life which were glowing and throbbing in the hearts of those by whom it was spoken. Indeed a so-called revelation which is simply external, a series of words uttered and heard, an object presented to the senses, an event taking place must be entirely meaningless and useless, unless they serve to call forth a response from the heart, unless they are caught hold of and interpreted and invested with meaning and life by the mind of the individual to whom they appear.

IV In the study of the history of religious cultus we must carry with us the results which we have already reached. We have had certain materials laid before us from which we may learn something as to the *kind* of experience which first gave rise to the conceptions of the human soul, of the future existence of that soul, and of the ideal life in the future or in the present which is the object of ethical consciousness. We have seen that this conception of the soul furnishes the type upon which the conception of the more extensive world of spirits is based, a conception which rises finally to a spirit supreme over all. There remains to be considered the doctrines and customs which have arisen out of the relation believed to exist, and the intercourse held to be carried on between the human soul and other spiritual beings. The most important elements of this religious cultus are prayer and sacrifice.

There is nothing in the conceptions of either prayer or sacrifice which could not naturally arise out of the belief that men are related to other spiritual beings in something the same way as they are related to one another. The prayers which rude barbarous tribes present to their deities are pretty much the same as the requests which they make to persons in authority amongst themselves, that is, they are formed after the same model, conceived in the same spirit, although of course the objects after which they seek are different. We should naturally expect therefore that prayer, being the expression of the most deeply felt wants of men, would vary greatly amongst different peoples according to the nature of the ideas which pre-

dominate in their minds and their general state of culture. Where the minds of the people have not arisen above utilitarian conceptions we need not expect anything higher in their prayers. Where there have been formed distinctly ethical ideas of right and wrong we may certainly expect to find these, if any where, in the petitions presented to the deity. The few specimens of prayers collected by Mr Tylor are sufficient to bear out the general theory which he wishes to support. But we think that a much more extended study of the prayers of different peoples might result in important discoveries in the history of religious and moral thought. The examination of this field of research still requires to be performed, and when it is thoroughly carried out by a competent scholar we have no doubt but a great deal of light may be thrown upon obscure questions connected with the history of humanity.

The custom of presenting sacrifices follows just as naturally as prayer from the general conception of the relation between man and higher spirits. And the meaning of the sacrifice, that which it is designed to express, must of course vary according to the idea in the worshipper's mind of his relations to the deity. We have many instances in which the sacrifice presented is considered to be only a gift designed for the use of the deity with a view of pleasing him or securing his favour. We have other cases in which, besides this, there is involved the idea of rendering homage to him as superior. And finally when moral ideas, and the conception of God as supreme have arisen, the meaning of sacrifice becomes much more complicated. It involves the idea of propitiation, of giving up to God something valuable to the worshipper as an expiation of sin committed. Thence arises the sacrifice of children, the cutting off of members of the person's own body, and the presentation of other things valuable to the sacrificer. In this is involved also the idea of substitution, that the sacrifice presented is a substitute for the life of the sacrificer which has been in truth forfeited by the commission of sin, but that a merciful deity is willing to accept some other offering as a substitute or as a symbol of the life which ought to be sacrificed.

All these and other ideas involved in religious cultus are abundantly illustrated in the chapter before us. Many of these ideas have found their way up into Christianity, many of them are still incorporated in the theological systems of Christian churches, some of them have been rejected, some of them are now being rejected by the increasing enlightenment of the modern world. Let us see what conclusions we can draw from this progress of religious history.

1 No single phase of religious thought appears to be final. Every religious conception is a successor more or less purified and

developed to some one that preceded it, and is itself a stepping-stone to some higher and, it may be, truer conception which is to follow it. Every religious system must contain in it materials taken from other religious systems out of which it may have sprung, and is liable, nay, judging from the history of religions, certain to become developed or purified or, it may be, corrupted into something else. The doctrine of the development of religious belief is now a firmly established scientific principle, whatever view we may take as to the manner in which that development is brought about, or as to the standard by which it should be judged.

2. Consequently it is not proper for the adherents of any system of religion to rest in that system as absolute truth. As far as the human mind is concerned there appears to be no such thing as absolute truth, or at least to human faculties in our present state of existence the knowledge of absolute truth is unattainable. It is right that men should seek to know what is true and good, it is right that they should reject what will not stand the test of examination, and that they should receive as an article of belief what their intellect and conscience approve. But to rest in any system of religious beliefs and to cease searching after something still better and higher is a sign not of the culminating point of a religious character, but rather of religious death.

3. Religious beliefs appear to be valuable chiefly from their influence upon moral character. Almost as soon as moral ideas began to be formed they were connected with religion. And the beliefs of religion affording, as they do, a sanction and a powerful motive to the practice of that which has been regarded as virtue, have exercised a very powerful influence in the formation of morals. We say this of all religious beliefs whether we regard them as being true or not. The argument that the good moral results of a religious faith prove the truth of the principles of the religion is a false one. Granting that correct moral ideas have been once formed, the presence of a strong religious belief will have a powerful effect in stamping as it were those moral ideas upon the character. But this is true of all religious beliefs, unless there be involved in them elements essentially immoral.

But we must leave the subject with the reader. The book must be read in order to be appreciated, and deserves to be carefully read. And it should be particularly interesting to people in India who have so many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the customs and beliefs of tribes comparatively low in the ranks of civilization and of adding to the amount of available knowledge regarding the subjects we have been discussing.

ART VI—THE BENGAL COMMISSARIAT

PART II—*Matériel*

IN proceeding to investigate this portion of the subject, it will be necessary to consider separately the different services entrusted to the Commissariat Department. Of these the supply of sustenance for men in health, and for patients in Hospital, technically called "Rations" and "Diets," naturally takes precedence. There is no intention of criticising here the bill of fare, or of entering upon any elaborate discussion regarding the dietetic value of the aliment provided for the soldier in proportion to its bulk. Suffice it to say that the quantity provided is even more than ample. It remains to be ascertained, whether the quality of the edibles and potables supplied is the best obtainable for the money, or whether equally good articles could not be procured at a cheaper cost. Paterfamilias, wroth at what he may consider extravagance in his household accounts, or puzzled by the domestic enigma of how to make ends meet, can at least scrutinise closely each item making up the "dim'd tottles" of his expenditure, and solace himself somewhat by issuing the ukase for retrenchment in what he conceives the right direction. The public, albeit justifiably indignant at the continuance of the Income-Tax, is not so fortunate. "Victualling" and "dieting" of European troops figure for a large amount in the Military portion of the Budget, but any one anxious to investigate these items of public expenditure for himself, will look in vain for any appendix exhibiting details affording a satisfactory check on them, or indeed over any part of the Commissariat Department grant. This is to be regretted, for, if data for ratios were given, the *veraxa quæstio* of economy would, in this instance, be brought within the ken and ready apprehension of every housewife even. It is particularly unfortunate too for the purposes of this article, that this information is wanting, for in its absence, the precise economic effect and scope of the observations herein to follow, must be the less readily appreciable. However, the general reader will do well to bear in mind, that, from what may *prima facie* appear a trifling difference in the price of a commodity, when calculated in the aggregate for the consumption of say 36,000 men, a total amount will present itself, often perfectly startling in magnitude. *Scottish*—"a little oft mak's a

mickle" A truism, be it observed, that mainly underlies economy in any country, but more particularly so in India. Enough said, however, by way of preface! To the subject

Bread — To provide the "staff of life" for the soldier, the Commissariat officer is concerned with three operations, *viz*, the purchase of wheat, the grinding of it into bread stuff, and the baking of the latter into bread. In none of these transactions would there appear to be any systematic attempt at economy. In place of wheat being purchased either by contract, or by direct purchase in the bulk for the whole year's consumption at harvest time, when, of course, it can be procured cheapest, save in the one instance of the Bovill's flour mill at Cawnpur (which will be referred to presently) it is now bought as required, to meet the daily consumption. Thus Government buys in the very dearest manner possible. It may be urged, that buying in large quantities necessitates large store-rooms, and entails risk from the ravages of weevil, etc. To this it is readily answered, that natives have most excellent, simple, and cheap methods of storing wheat without risk from either weather or insects. It does not concern the subject to describe these ingenious contrivances here, it is merely necessary to make the fact known that they do exist, and are cheap and effectual. And further, that the very native dealers retailing to Government invariably employ them. In fine it is calculated that by the present retail system of purchasing wheat a loss (all risk of storing considered) is entailed of at least 20 to 25 per cent. Say the daily consumption is 3,600 maunds, and that the price varies in the average from Rs 2 to 3 a maund, some conclusion as to the large amount which might be saved annually, were better arrangements made for wholesale purchases at the proper season, can easily be arrived at. Be it understood that the Commissary General, not the Executive Commissariat officer, is responsible for this annual waste of public money.

In co-relation with this sub-division of the subject, it may be well to notice here an item of expenditure which figures in the Budget for about 4 to 4½ lakhs of rupees annually. When the price of certain articles *viz*, atta, dhall, ghee and salt, exceeds a fixed limit 'compensation for dearness of provision' is paid to the native soldier. This boon is a relic of bye-gone days, when it was deemed politic to fling an occasional sop to the sipáhi Cerberus, which might show its teeth. Granted ostensibly in the first instance as an indulgence, it is now regarded as a right, but looking at the item in the latter aspect, it is affirmed, that in many instances it is unnecessarily paid, and in most instances more is paid on this account than need be. It may so happen that from some local cause or through the machinations of native dealers, the price of grain may be fictitiously raised at a

garrison station, or it may be, that the sudden influx of large bodies of troops into a district may lead to a like result, but surely with the improved means of intercommunication now at command, a little prudence and foresight would prevent a heavy pecuniary loss to Government on such occasions. It is not uncommon, particularly in the vicinity of native States, to find grain selling in a cantonment at famine prices, while at a distance of perhaps less than ten miles it is moderately cheap. Mayhap too, at the same cantonment a large establishment of carriage is maintained, which might, within reasonable limitation be utilised for the transfer of the grain from the district, but which is kept in complete idleness unless an emergency call for its employment with a moveable column. Under all circumstances, therefore, it is suggested, that money compensation should never be paid, but that when the price of provisions exceeds the prescribed limit, the Commissariat Department should be empowered to supply in kind. It is believed by this means, the heavy item of compensation for dearness of provisions would seldom, if ever, appear in the public accounts.

Until within the last five or six years, wheat was ground as well in the Government bakeries as elsewhere throughout the country by the primitive native hand mill—bread material being likewise prepared from the meal by hand labour. These operations are now generally performed by machinery, but no uniformity of system exists. A word regarding the introduction of this machinery. Considering the vast and accumulative inventive genius, which has been for generations employed in Europe in bringing flour mills to the perfection they have now attained, it would naturally be supposed, that the only difficulty in the way of the administrative head of a Department desirous of dispensing with the cumbious, and it may be added, filthy native methods of obtaining flour above referred to, would be in selecting the most suitable of the numerous excellent models before him. But far from it, a late Commissary General, ignoring all experiences, determined to strike out a new line of his own, and in an evil hour lent ear to the flattering tale of a certain would-be Archimedes in the department. To describe the fantastic crudities, and “horrible inventions” (*inter alia*, his *chef d’œuvre*, a beautiful combination of a kneading machine and guillotine in one) of this rash aspirant for mechanic fame, might doubtless be amusing, but would hardly be edifying. Suffice it, that after wasting large sums of money, this visionary left nothing but ‘wrack behind,’ to wit, amorphous fragments of wood and iron, circumjacent in every large station, sad evidences of his folly and presumption. It must not be thought that this little episode in the career of a foolish amateur inventor is narrated with any ill-nature, but merely as a warning, and in hope that it

may serve pour encourager les autres. Again, the Commissariat Commission of 1864 suggested, that a very superior flour mill, well known as "Bovill's Patent Blast Mill" should be introduced in this country. But how has this excellent suggestion been acted on? In place of any attempt being made to ascertain in the first instance, by careful investigation, what was likely to prove the most suitable locality for the experiment, and what were the conditions of supply there required in view to a machine of the proper dimensions being provided, one of the largest size was at once ordered out by the Secretary of State, and directed to be tried at Cawnpur. The machinery arrived, as likewise the miller to work it, when it was discovered that a costly building of five stories high was needed, which took four years to erect. Meanwhile, the miller on a salary of Rs 400 a month remained idle, and the machinery had to be carefully protected and stored, with every risk of deterioration in such a climate. But this is not all though the mill has been working well during the last two years, and though most excellent flour has been provided from it for many neighbouring stations, still it is a failure in a financial point of view. What is the cause of this? Mainly there is not enough duty for the machinery to do, or in other words, it is proved that a mill of too large dimensions has been provided for the locality in which it has been established. Can there be a greater evidence of what unreasoning and unreflecting folly may effect towards rendering abortive the soundest conception? Further it may be added, that in not two stations are the appliances for producing flour alike, consequently, although the cost of labour and other conditions may be but little dissimilar, the price of production varies notwithstanding often in the proportion of cent per cent. The same remarks apply to bread-baking. No two sets of ovens are alike, and most of them are of the rudest construction possible. The consequence is that the cost of fuel is quite double what it should be and would be, were ovens of improved and really scientific construction used. The moral to be derived from all this is, that, if Government really desires to obtain the full benefits of increased efficiency, cleanliness, and economy, which the introduction of machinery into its bakeries is so well calculated to afford, it would do well to appoint a skilled mechanical engineer, with full power to initiate and supervise all arrangements in view to a uniform system of working being established.

Meat—Notwithstanding all assertions to the contrary, the beef ration issued to the soldier is indubitably of much poorer quality than it should be, while the mutton, as is universally admitted, is simply execrable. Breeding and fattening animals for the shambles has almost been elevated into a science in

England, whereas the people in this country have, for the most part, strong religious prejudices opposed to every thing of the kind. Certain it is that unless Government takes direct action in the matter, no improvement in the quality of the meat ration can be looked for. Moreover though Government has persistently endeavoured to blind its eyes to the fact, it is one the no less real in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, that the stocks of cattle and sheep (of the latter more particularly) are becoming gradually, but steadily diminished, and rapidly tending towards complete exhaustion. The resources of the country in flocks and herds are doubtless very great in proportion to the demand for flesh, but still it must be remembered, that as wealth increases, a largely increased consumption by natives is to be anticipated. Besides, however great the resources of the country may be, they can never be expected, throughout all time, to stand the heavy drain now caused by the wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter of cows and ewes. It will hardly be credited, but is a fact nevertheless, that of the animals slaughtered throughout the country, at least 90 per cent are females. A further evidence of exhaustion may be found in the circumstance, that the price of cattle and sheep has increased and is still increasing year by year in a degree which cannot otherwise be accounted for. In fine, if Government desires to save itself from a great future embarrassment, and the concomitant heavy outlay sure to result, it would do well to reconsider its decision, all too eagerly arrived at, in concurrence with the opinion of the Commissariat Commission of 1864 "not to connect itself directly or indirectly with breeding farms small or great." The reasons for this decision are nowhere set forth, but it is presumed it may be ascribed to prudential considerations, and to the dread Government has of being entangled in heavy expenses. Breeding cattle for slaughter pays in every other country, and why should it not pay in India, it may be asked? Of course every thing must depend upon the manner in which these farms are established, to make them either economical, nay profitable, as they assuredly should be, or quite the reverse. Strange to say, the Secretary of State in endorsing emphatically the opinions of the Government of India relative to the non-establishment of breeding farms, adds, 'that this decision should not be considered as adverse to the establishment of model farms, which subject would have due consideration hereafter.' Elsewhere, model farms are more frequently maintained in connexion with stock breeding as a primary object, and why this important branch should be specially neglected in India, is not quite apparent. Indeed, it is believed, for reasons above touched on and further to be shown, that in India, more particularly, cattle-breeding has become an imperative duty, and should

assuredly be associated in every scheme for Government model farms. To go further, it is maintained that in the possession, without fear of injurious competition, of the natural outlet afforded in the ever present demand for farm produce of all kinds for its European troops and for European residents generally, lies the only chance Government has of establishing model farms on an inexpensive, and even remunerative basis. The experiment must be initiated cautiously and tentatively. Exemplary illustration is often the aptest method of description in treating of practical matters. Therefore, to roughly shape a scheme — Let the different garrison and *sadr* stations be grouped into circles of supply, and in each circle let some central locality, presenting the best facilities for pasturage, *etc*, be carefully selected. It is probable, that Government waste-lands would frequently be found available. Let the cattle and sheep required for slaughter-purposes be then bought, and drafted to each station therefrom, care being taken to select and retain all animals approved for brood purposes. Thus, gradually, a nucleus of promising stock would be formed, which, when crossed judiciously and intermediately, would soon yield a type of animals for the shambles, rivalling the highest standard of foreign breeds. It is necessary to add that, as the formation of these depôts would render possible large reductions in the establishments now maintained at each station, any original outlay incurred would soon be recovered, and thereafter they might be made not only self-supporting, but highly remunerative. In connexion with cattle depôts, home farms for the production of grain and green fodder for the stock, might with advantage be established. At these might be tried all the experiments necessary for developing and improving the agriculture of the country. In short, they might be made to answer all the purposes of the model farms, the establishment of which is now occupying the attention of the Agricultural Department, to which Department the above remarks are, therefore, specially commended.

Having thus disposed of the question of the quality of the meat ration, it is now necessary to consider its present cost. Previous to 1866, meat rations were invariably supplied by contract. The average rates paid were Rs 9 for beef, and Rs 12 for mutton per hundred pounds. Even now, when rates have become nearly doubled, a cow yielding from 140 to 160lbs of meat for rations, besides the hide and débris, can be purchased at Rs 8 on the average, while a sheep weighing 20lbs when dressed, besides the skin and offal, can be bought for about Rs 2. On the other hand, grass feeding for 15 days only, was all that was stipulated for from contractors, and this condition was rarely insisted on in its integrity. Such being the case, some idea may be formed of the handsome profits enjoyed. To obtain a meat contract was to secure a colossal

fortune It is notorious, that the contracts granted at the above named rates, were sublet at Rs. 5 per 100lbs for beef, and at Rs 7 per 100lbs for mutton Even at these rates, therefore, profit must have been possible All this notwithstanding the Commissariat Commission of 1864 expressed itself satisfied with the rates, and even suggested an increase in those paid for mutton In effect, however, the rates for beef have been since much reduced This has been brought about through the discontinuance of the contract system, and the substitution of supply by direct Commissariat agency The price of beef which is issued six days in the week, has been reduced to about Rs 7 per 100lbs on the average, while the rate for mutton has remained stationary General Norman recently boasted that, although the price of provisions generally had increased greatly, still the cost of the soldiers' rations had been cheapened He is entirely reticent, however, as to how this desirable result has been attained, and gives no credit where credit is due, namely, to the Executive Commissariat Officers, through whose good exertions a large saving in the cost of the meat ration has been effected. Nor has any attempt been made to ventilate the subject further, albeit it might well have struck any ordinarily acute observer that, if a considerable saving were effected by the unskilled and unsystematic efforts of Executive Commissariat Officers, a good deal more might be expected to be achieved in the same direction, when the light of experience was fully turned on the subject. The utmost discrepancy exists in the rates at the different stations on the plains. These vary from 4/12 to 9/ per hundred pounds for beef, and from 7/8 to 19/ per hundred pounds for mutton The rates for meat on the hills must, for sometime, necessarily remain high, but excluding these from present consideration, there would seem to be no special circumstances or conditions to which the great difference in rates above-stated can be attributed The fact is, that Executive Commissariat Officers are permitted to make such exertions as they may severally please towards an economical supply, while those whose duty it is to systematise and control their efforts, remain supine, complacently monopolising the credit due to others It has been stated above, and the assertion is no loose one, that, on the average, a cow yielding 140 to 160lbs. of flesh for rations, can be bought for 8/ Add to this on the average for feeding previous to slaughter, and for expense of establishments, &c, Rs 1-8, and a total cost of 9/8 results Deduct value realisable for hide, débris, &c., and the sum of Rs 6-4 remains as the price of 140 to 160lbs of flesh. Or say 4/8 to 4/ per hundred pounds To ensure this, and even a more favourable rate still, three points must have special attention

I Careful selection of cattle, and thwarting of the dealers' efforts at monopoly

II Utilisation of the débris, and sale of hides, skins, &c

III Control of waste at slaughter-houses, and ration stands.

Cattle are now bought from the native dealers, large and small together, at an average rate per head at pretty much the price demanded. Few Executive Commissariat Officers have either the requisite time, or experience, to enable them to select cattle, and to judge, even approximately, of what the outturn is likely to be. This duty is delegated to native agents, aided by butcher sergeants. The latter draw 20/ a month pay for their work, and often possess even less experience than Executive Commissariat Officers themselves. The establishment of the dépôts, above advocated, will doubtless do a great deal towards equalising the prices paid for cattle, but even with the best experience, no accurate estimate of the value of a live animal offered for sale can be arrived at without the aid of weighing platforms. Though these are commonly used in Europe, all applications on the part of Executive Commissariat Officers for permission to introduce them into Government slaughter-houses in this country, have met with stern denial.

The price realised in the different executives by sale of hides, skins, débris, and offal, varies in as great a ratio as that of meat. Hides are now bought for the Government Tannery at Cawnpur, in the market at from 2/12 to 3/ each, while freshly slaughtered hides of the largest size are sold in the neighbouring Commissariat Executives at prices varying from 2/ to 3/8 at the outside. Sheep skins are bought for 6 annas and upwards, while Government itself realises at 2-6 to 4 annas. Again, no attempt has been made to obtain a general contract for the purchase of hides, though it is believed that, either at the Presidency, or in England, one could be obtained at very superior rates. Nor is there any reason why Government should not ship to England direct. This trade is in the hands of a single firm at the Presidency, and in ordinary times is very lucrative, while during any crisis on the continent of Europe, when the shipments to England from Russia, Germany, or Austria, for instance, become interrupted, a splendid fortune can be made in it in a few months. Further, the fat, suet, marrow bones, neck, tongue, head, liver, horns, and hoofs—in short all that is styled technically the débris of an animal—is now included and sold as offal for a mere song, on the average at 4 annas a head for cattle, and at 1/6 per head for sheep. It is certain that for fat 6 to 8 annas per head, and for mutton suet 2 annas to 2/6 per head could readily be obtained from the railway authorities for use in greasing carriage wheels. Whereas on the other hand, there can be no objection to the marrow bones, neck, tongue, heart, and liver, being included in the ration, in proportion, say, for half their weight in ordinary flesh.

Most of these portions of the débris readily fetch, singly, when retailed to soldiers and to residents, what the purchaser pays the Commissariat* for the whole débris and offal put together. Further, there is no reason why, by a slight application of the arts, the horns, hoofs, and bones should not be fully utilised, by being converted into valuable commercial products, while the offal with trifling expense might be made to afford a more valuable fertilising agent than even guano. In fine it is affirmed that in the cost of beef, at least 4/ per head is recoverable for the hide, débris, &c., and from 8 to 9 annas per head from the cost of mutton. To conclude, the loss by wastage in dressing at slaughter-houses, and in issue at ration stands, is calculated as quite equal to 15 per cent. This could be reduced to a minimum, with but little trouble, by the Commissary General in communication with the Commander in Chief.

Rice—The Commissariat Commission of 1866 states—That rice was first issued to the soldier in 1840, since which, a daily ration of 4 ounces has been issued. That nearly ninety per cent of the Commanding Officers and Medical Officers consulted, state that the ration is excessive, and some state that it is not touched by the men. That the greater portion issued is either wasted, or pilfered, or exchanged for some other article. That not unfrequently rice is roasted and ground and then mixed with coffee, an equivalent portion of the latter being stolen. That the only reason that can be assigned for the issue of so large a rice ration is, that it was looked upon as a substitute for vegetables, which latter were not commenced to be issued till 12 years later. That the ration should be reduced to 2 oz., and that thereby a saving of some eighty thousand rupees a year would be effected. The only notice taken of this very clear and cogent testimony as to the rice ration being excessive, and as to the fact of a very limited portion of the quantity issued being really either consumed by the soldier, or benefiting him in any way, was that flour was ordered “at the option of the soldier” to be substituted for rice. In other words, that a dearer, and equally useless substitute, should be provided, and mark!—“At the option of the soldier.” What the British soldier was supposed to do with the flour, or how he was to cook it, and how he was expected to digest four oz. of flour cooked in any shape, in addition to his already more than liberal allowance of food, is nowhere explained. Had such an order been issued a century or so ago, when the sons of Mars were arrayed in all the gorgousness of full-bottomed wigs, a use for the flour might have been divined. But albeit, “the powers that be” in this all-wise nineteenth century, would consider such use of flour as sinful waste. It might be shewn, were the subject concerned with discipline and obedience, that at least the Govern-

ment of a century ago, would never have been guilty of the folly of permitting the soldier an option as to what he might deem good for himself in the shape of meat and drink. It need hardly be remarked, that the flour order has remained ever since its promulgation a dead letter. The only reason that can be assigned for the issue of rice, is stated to be that, when it was first included in the soldier's ration, no vegetables were supplied. But as will be shewn presently, no expense has been spared of late years, to improve the soldier's vegetable ration, and seeing that he now has excellent potatoes on his table, when his officer can procure none, and can obtain only native vegetables, the recommendation of the Commission aforesaid, that the rice ration should be reduced one half, and that a saving of eighty thousand rupees annually should be effected thereby, would seem far from unjustifiable. On the other hand, if it be deemed that the soldier is fairly entitled to the rice ration or its money equivalent, at least supply him with an article that will really benefit him, in place of affording a premium of, say, a lakh and-a-half of rupees annually, for the encouragement of pilfering amongst regimental cooks *et hoc genus omne*. Better far, do away with the rice ration altogether, and use the money in improving the quality of the mutton ration, and in cheapening the cost of malt liquor—boons the soldier would really appreciate.

Sugar and Rum—These are of excellent quality, and are for the most part supplied by contract entered into with the Rosa Factory, near Shahjahanpur, in the North-West Provinces. There is a nominal competition for the contract for sugar, but the supply of rum is quite a monopoly, and as a natural sequence, is very lucrative to the happy possessor. It seems monstrously absurd that sugar and rum, throughout all these years, should have had to be transported to such distances at heavy expense, when there are many districts in which these products might be manufactured cheaper than at Shahjahanpur. In the Panjáb, notably in the Jalandhar District, excellent sugar cane is grown, yielding a much larger percentage of saccharine juice, than that grown in the Bareilly and Fathigarh districts. This fact has been ascertained by careful experiments made some years back. Then, 25 maunds of sugar-cane could be bought in the Jalandhar District for a rupee, while, at Shahjahanpur, the rate was 7 maunds per rupee. A suitable factory, it is estimated, could be established near Jalandhar at a cost of from 2 to 2½ lakhs of rupees, which sum would be recovered in a couple of years' working. It is affirmed that sugar could, by this means, be supplied at half the present cost, and rum at little more than one-third the present cost. Surely, with these facts before it, the matter is one well worth the prompt attention of the new Department of Agriculture, Commerce, *etc*

Tea and Coffee—China tea and Indian tea are issued, in the proportion of half of each, to soldiers, everywhere throughout the Presidency, but in Assam and on the hills, tea of superior quality is grown, and can be supplied actually cheaper, cost of carriage considered, than the "cheap and nasty" China tea now issued, the importation of the latter would seem, therefore, very like carrying coals to Newcastle. And herein we say nothing of the duty incumbent on Government, of fostering and encouraging tea cultivation in India in a legitimate way, by bringing a large demand to the door of the planter, and continuing its patronage so long as it is satisfied that the quality of the supply is good, and the price moderate. Indian tea is purchased by contract, but so many petty and vexatious stipulations are insisted on, that the European planters are shy of tendering. Such conditions may be all very well for checking the wiles and tricky ways of petty native contractors, but are unnecessary and even prohibitory, in dealing with European gentlemen, as most of the Indian tea-planters are. On the other hand, coffee is purchased at each station separately by contract, or by Departmental Agency. The average price paid varies from 5 to 7 annas per lb. It has been calculated that, in dealing with this supply, were the natural sources tapped, and were purchases arranged for where the coffee is actually grown, *viz*, in Ceylon and on the Western Coasts of the Madras Presidency, the average price might be reduced to 3 or to 4 annas per lb.

Vegetables—Potatoes and onions are the two kinds of vegetable preferred by the soldier. There is no difficulty in supplying onions, and a full ration of potatoes, grown on the plains, is provided as long as the season for them lasts. After the season, potatoes are procured from the hills, and, for an intermediate period, during which they cannot be obtained either on the plains or on the hills, stations as far up as Ambála even, are supplied from the far distant slopes of Cherrapoonjee. In short, no effort nor expense is spared to maintain an uninterrupted supply to the soldier of his favourite esculent. This is, of course, very creditable and praiseworthy, and, doubtless, Government reaps the benefit in the consequent improvement in the soldier's health, and in the absence of scurvy in the Hospitals. However, the present article is not concerned with pointing out the numberless instances of consideration and liberality displayed by Government in its never-ceasing solicitude for the soldier's physical well-being, and therefore no mention would have been made of the vegetable ration probably, had it not been necessary to notice, in connection with this portion of the subject, a well-intentioned, but ill-directed attempt which has been made to dissipate the annu of the soldier in this country, by affording him the means

of employing his leisure in gardening. The idea was that, while a healthful recreation was provided him, he would ultimately produce all the vegetables required for his own consumption, being paid of course for so doing, and thus that profit and pleasure would be combined for him. To this end, regimental and company gardens were ordered to be established. The Barrack Department was ordered to lay out the plots, turn up the ground, and provide manure, while seeds were to be supplied on indent from the Government nurseries at Sahāranpur. Prizes were to be distributed annually for the best regimental and company gardens, respectively. The initial expenses have been incurred, the seeds provided, and the prizes awarded, with great regularity, but the result, save in a few very isolated instances, has been *nil*. This humiliating failure is partly to be accounted for in the fact that the efforts of the men have been very desultory, and have had but little support and guidance from their officers, who could hardly be expected to possess either the needful experience or interest in horticulture. It is feared, that, not unfrequently, native *malis* have been employed to sow the seeds, and to attend to the gardens in so far as was necessary to secure the prizes annually awarded with but little discrimination, and in a perfunctory manner, by Committees, the members of which are usually appointed according to the ordinary roster of duty. The original scheme for the establishment of the soldier's gardens was, however, faulty, and contained within itself the elements of its own defeat. It was either too comprehensive, if its sole object were to provide recreation for the men, or if the more ambitious view were entertained of making the gardens self-supporting, as far as Government was concerned, and profitable to the men, the means provided were inadequate to the end desired. Either esoteric company gardens alone should have been provided, or parks and gardens on a large scale established under experienced superintendence. Sufficient encouragement would have been given to the former, were land and seeds provided to each man desirous of employing his leisure hours in a healthful occupation, while the latter, if properly managed, might be made remunerative, as well as affording places of resort for pleasant recreation, where also profitable wage for labour might be obtained.

Malt Liquor—This supply is procured from England by contracts made by the Secretary of State. The quality is far from uniform, but, on the whole, may be said to be tolerably good. The price on the average paid by Government, inclusive of all charges previous to issue, is about 56/ to 57/ a hogshead of 52 gallons, while canteens pay 39/ a hogshead. Government, therefore, suffers a loss of about 17/ to 18/ on each hogshead issued. The total loss on this account may be set down, annually, at from eight

to nine lakhs of rupees. A part is, however, recuperated by profits on the sale of rum, amounting, probably, to one and-a-half, or two lakhs of rupees annually. Of course, the object in selling the malt liquor cheap, and the rum dear, is to induce the soldier to drink malt liquor, which is considered more wholesome for him in a hot climate, than ardent spirits. Assuming even that this is the case, it is a matter of doubt, whether the consumption of rum has been much diminished by cheapening the former. Again, it is hardly just that malt liquor drinkers should have their beverage cheapened at the expense of rum drinkers. Further, were the supply of malt liquor not monopolised by Government, it is believed that a keen competition would arise to meet the demand thus opened out, and that more particularly, a great impetus would be given to Hill Breweries. Thus, the soldier would eventually get better beer, as cheap at least as he does now. It is suggested, therefore, that rum should be sold at its actual average cost price. That malt liquor should either be procured, as at present, by Government, and if so, sold at the average cost price also, or that the supply should be left to regimental arrangement.

As regards the large surplus of 6 or 7 lakhs of rupees annually, which would thus become disentangled, it is considered that, seeing the country has been groaning under the burden of an income-tax, it behoves its rulers to be just before being generous, and, as the amount in question represents the cost of a boon withdrawable at will, there can be no sound argument against its re-appropriation to Revenue, more particularly as the boon has not fulfilled the object the liberal donors had in its bestowal. But if the money must be spent on the soldier, let it be so in some more useful way than in enabling him to "swill" beer cheap. Deprive no man of his beer; but, by all means, let him pay fairly for what he drinks.

Hospital Diets and Comforts—For the most part scraggy mutton, or fowls and chickens, of the true *quais separabilis* muscular development, go to the preparation of what is commonly called "meat diet." While the "spoon diet" consists of the usual "slops" concocted from arrowroot, sago, barley, rice, &c &c. Milk, butter, and eggs are also supplied; but are of the most inferior, if not revolting, quality. Of a truth, it requires that the simple fact be recognised, that for Hospital use, the very best supplies of every sort procurable are the cheapest. Graded mutton of the best quality should be provided. Dairy farms and poultry yards should be established, and affiliated to the depôts and model farms previously advocated. These would not only afford wholesome produce for the consumption of the sick, but might be made highly remunerative, while supplying

a want greatly felt by the European community at every mofussil station

There is nothing to be said against the quality of the various farinaceous articles of diet above mentioned. It is, however, a well ascertained fact, that arrowroot contains superior nutritive and albuminous properties, bulk for bulk, and weight for weight, than sago. Why then is sago, a foreign product, ever used? Further, arrowroot is actually procured from England, notwithstanding that the plant (*Maranta Arundinacea*) yielding it flourishes in the Bîrhm District in all the luxuriance of indigenous growth. Let the Agricultural Department look to the fact.

A few remarks are necessary relative to the wines and spirits supplied to Hospitals. These are best described as bad, and indifferent. The quality is most unequal, and barely ever reaches the standard of "good military port." The brandy, for instance, is commonly "pure British" corn distilled, or inferior whisky sophisticated on the Continent. Therefore it follows that either too much or too little is paid for it. Too little, if it be desired to use a pure vinous brandy, or too much, if a corn spirit is needed. The very best whisky can be landed in Calcutta at about 15/ per dozen quart bottles, while really pure brandy would cost not less than 24 a dozen. The only stimulant used in Hospitals to which the above remarks do not apply, is Hollands gin, which is, for the most part, of good quality. The port wine recently obtained from a well-known firm, may also stand as an exception, in so far as it is supplied. The consumption being steady and well ascertained can easily be estimated for, and it is difficult to understand why the Commissary General does not make arrangements, if not direct with the growers, at least with the respectable firms dealing direct with the growers, to meet the requirements of Hospitals in this Presidency. Many firms would be found willing and anxious to keep up the stock at each station, of wines and spirits of fixed and uniform brands and at fixed prices. Thus, the constant complaints of medical officers would be obviated, and the best hope might reasonably be entertained that the sick received sound and wholesome stimulants.

Barrack Bedding and Hospital Clothing—The scale of Barrack bedding laid down is a fair one, and the articles supplied are on the whole good. Great want of uniformity in patterns exists, however, and thus speculation is facilitated. The sheeting is procured from England why it should be so, is not manifest. There are sixteen cotton mills in Bombay, one in Calcutta, and one in the North-West Provinces, all capable of producing excellent sheeting of the quality required, cheaper than it can be procured from England. Can it be

that in this instance, as in others, the interests of Indian industry are sacrificed to the insatiable Moloch of Manchester Commercial ambition?

The remarks relative to the lack of uniformity in the patterns of Barrack bedding apply equally to the different articles of Hospital clothing. It is a pleasure to be able to state, that a very large comparative saving has been effected in Hospital supplies generally, and in that of clothing in particular, by the appointment of native purveyors, subordinate to the Commissariat Department, in room of the European or Eurasian stewards formerly employed. The latter were under the sole control of medical officers who could not properly supervise them. Consequently, it is feared that it not unfrequently happened that supplies of all kinds, whether required or not, were indented for at the very highest scale, the stewards arranging in collusion with the native contractors that, while no articles were really delivered, the medical officer's receipts should be obtained under false representations, and that the profits arising should be quietly shared. The frequency of instances in which stewards had to be tried by Court Martial for peculation and misfeasance of all kinds, happily led to the change of system. The present native purveyors have to lodge security-money, and are held responsible, and have to account closely, for all the stores in their charge to the Commissariat Officer. A large saving in the amount estimated for in the budget for Hospital supplies has resulted, but it is regretted that this in fact has not been communicated to medical officers, many of whom, being ignorant of it, still grumble at having lost the services of the stewards, whose cue, of course, it was to make things smooth for them.

Barrack Furniture—Other arrangements, to be presently considered, have been made for this supply, which has for some years heretofore rested with the Commissariat Department. It is useful to explain the system that obtained, if for no other reason than to hold up the mirror unmasking to the public eye an almost incredible folly, in the hope that it may not be repeated. To replace, or repair, a single broken chair, no less than four army Departments, two Military Committees, besides the Regimental authorities, were concerned. To exemplify the *modus operandi*. In the first instance, a requisition had to be submitted by the regimental authorities to the Barrack-master, who having ascertained, by causing the assembly of a Committee, in what degree the chair was damaged, submitted in turn another requisition for the approval and countersignature of the Divisional Quarter-Master-General, when it was forwarded to the Commissariat Department to arrange for the work being done. The Commissariat Officer, in the first place, applied to the Regimental authorities to ascertain

whether the regimental workshops could, or would, undertake the work. Failing the workshops, the requisition was made over to a contractor for compliance, but, not unfrequently, a fresh requisition had to be made out by the Commissariat Officer on the Department of Public Works, which, probably after months of delay did the work, and delivered it to the Commissariat Department, which delivered it to the Barrack Department, which after presenting it to another Committee of Officers, redelivered it to the Regimental authorities. The House that Jack built is a joke to this! It must be mentioned that preliminary to all this, the Quarter-Master-General's Department at Headquarters had to prepare plans (some of which, by the way, are unique and curious specimens of the limner's art), of all Barrack furniture, according to which musters were made up, and kept in store as a guide. The plans themselves were not considered a sufficient guide for construction, and *en verité* they often were not, though of course they should have been. Thus a large stock of Barrack furniture musters had to be kept up at great expense at each military station.

The supply of Barrack furniture is now entrusted to the Department of Public Works. This is a decided improvement in some respects, for that Department will at least be competent to draw accurate plans, while the services of a "number of the cooks who spoiled the broth" will be dispensed with. Still, it is doubted whether, constituted as the Department of Public Works now is, its officers are not already too much overburdened with work to be able to devote due time and attention to any increase. Why should not the Regimental authorities make their own arrangements for procuring and keeping in repair Barrack furniture? A fixed scale of furniture being laid down, a fixed sum, estimated for annually, might be paid to each regiment, to enable renewals and repairs. The regiment might then either employ its own workshops, or procure elsewhere at option. Any saving on the amount estimated for should become the property of the regiment, and should be applied for its individual benefit in such manner as the Commander-in-Chief might deem fitting. Thus, the Regimental authorities and the men themselves would have a direct interest in an economical supply, and in preventing wilful damage, or careless breakage while Government would be necessarily relieved of much trouble and expense. All that would have to be insisted on would be that articles of uniform patterns, constructed according to standard plans were maintained, and handed over from one regiment to another, in good order and repair. This should be no difficult matter to arrange.

Transport—As the question of the future supply of transport will have to be carefully considered in the sequel promised at the commencement of Part I of this article, it is proposed to restrict

the remarks here on this head to a point, in which economy is more immediately involved.

Rewarree Camels.—Till within about 20 years ago, the Government maintained its own establishment of camels, when what was called the Rewarree system of supply was substituted with the result of an immediate saving of about one-and-half lakhs of rupees annually. The same system is still maintained.

The Rewarree camel system was one formerly existing under native rule, whereby camel owners (called Thokeedars) were salaried to provide camels for the traffic, and general purposes of the native Governments. An officer was usually appointed to supervise and administer the system but held no pecuniary interest in it. When adopted by the British Government, it was deemed expedient to employ some native agent of wealth and influence to give the system better effect. A nominal salary was paid him, and further, he was in reality granted a contract binding him to furnish camels at fixed rates. In other words the Rewarree system in its simple form was not adopted, but a contract based on the Rewarree system. This measure was all very well at the time of its introduction, when it was expedient to cultivate sedulously local influences, and, indeed, as already said, a large annual saving was immediately effected. It is, however, worthy of consideration, whether the services of such an agent and contractor are now needed. Roads and rail-roads have had their usual effect in destroying local influences, while, happily, that of Government has become paramount. Executive Commissariat Officers can now more readily procure camels, if need be, with the aid of the civil authorities, than the contractors or Head Chowdries as they are called. Why then should Head Chowdries be employed?

There are from 5,000 to 6,000 camels employed in the Panjáb, and the North-West Provinces, and these are all now provided by a single Head Chowdry, or contractor. His deeds of agreement are made with the Deputies Commissary General of each circle. Executive Commissariat Officers, for whom, be it observed, the work has to be done, have no control over the Head Chowdry, who has, indeed, artfully arranged that their authority and power of supervision shall be reduced to a minimum. This leads to the worst abuses. The rate paid for camels "present at station" is nearly double that paid for camels "at graze." Hence, it is an object to keep the fewest number possible at the station. The camels entered on the rolls as "at graze" are, therefore, only periodically, generally once a month, brought into the station for muster and inspection. It is feared that during the remainder of the month they are hired out for private purposes. It is notorious too, that the contracts granted to the Head Chowdries were sublet by them to the Naib Chowdries

at each station at from 12 annas to one rupee 4 annas per camel per mensem, while the Naib Chowdry received in turn four annas per camel per mensem from the Thokeedars or camel-owners. In short, Government pays very needlessly from 1 to 1-8 per camel per mensem for each camel employed. This calculated on 5,000 or 6,000 camels represents a very handsome income enjoyed by the Head Chowdry and his Naib Chowdries, in addition to the monthly salaries of 150 and 20 respectively paid them by Government. The salary of the Head Chowdry has recently been raised from 100 to 150 a month on the representation, it is believed, that he was a poor hard-worked man inadequately remunerated. There is a touch of humour in this, irresistibly comic to a native's fancy. Many would doubtless be glad to possess an equally good receipt for making £6,000 to £7,000 a year so easily.

This concludes the remarks under the head "Matériel." The subject has been a difficult one to handle popularly, while in considering economy it must ever be expected that the necessary ventilation will not always prove palatable to those who may have interests imperilled. The writer, whilst emphatically disclaiming all pretensions to infallibility in the statements made and opinions expressed, has endeavoured, by a conscientious *exposé* of things as they appear to himself, to place the public in general in a position to judge for themselves. His aim has also been to attract wiser heads and abler pens to a subject of no mean importance, and if he has but succeeded in this aim, he is well content.

ART VII—THE BRAHMA SAMAJ AND THE NATIVE MARRIAGE ACT

THE most important social disabilities under which the people known as the Brahma Samaj have heretofore laboured, have been removed by the passing of a Civil Marriage Bill on the 19th March 1872. When the measure was brought forward in February last, some of the Hon'ble Members of the Legislative Council asked for a postponement, and as the grounds on which they demanded this delay seemed not altogether unreasonable, the postponement was agreed to, and was on the whole sanctioned by public opinion. The opposition, however, which the Bill had to encounter at its final stage was to a certain extent, unexpected, and seems to us to have been unnecessary and injudicious. We believe that in this matter the people of India owe a large debt of gratitude to the firm will and conspicuous abilities of Mr Fitzjames Stephen, to whom, supported by His Excellency the Viceroy and other members of the Council, we chiefly owe the abolition of disabilities which were utterly repugnant to those principles of toleration under which we profess to govern this country. We admit that, in legislation of this kind, the utmost care and discretion is needed. We are entirely opposed to hasty reforms, even in the direction of toleration. But we believe that a movement, which has largely commended itself to the educated classes amongst the natives of this country, and which has enlisted the sympathies of a number of thoughtful and intelligent persons both here and in Europe, has at any rate a claim to be so far recognised by the Government as to be freed as much as possible from oppressive disabilities. The leaders of the movement themselves deprecate any interference with, or any appearance of unnecessarily shocking the prejudices of those of their countrymen who insist on implicit adherence to ancient customs and institutions. But they demand personal liberty of opinion, and as much protection from an unjust amount of social persecution as is accorded by law to native Christians and the converts of other religions, and we are distinctly of opinion that this enfranchisement could not reasonably have been denied them.

The deliberations which have accompanied the elaboration of this measure, and the careful and earnest consideration which has attended its progress, on the part both of the press and of the responsible leaders of public opinion in this country, have not been unworthy of its importance. The gravity of an Act which, for the first time in the history of legislation in India, lays down the important principle that the privilege of legal marriage is neither to

be contingent on any religious conformity, nor to be denied to any religious scruples, can hardly be overrated. We consequently believe that an historical *résumé* of the fitful progress of the question whilst it was yet under deliberation, may be both useful as a record of a most eventful controversy, and interesting to a large number of our readers.

The Brahma Samāj, having adopted a mode of worship more or less assimilated to that which is sanctioned by the usage of Theists throughout the world, were not unreasonably anxious to eliminate from their marriage rites (which had been as yet necessarily in conformity with ancient Hindu usage) those portions which appeared to be inconsistent with their professions and their other rites and observances. Babú Debendra Náth Tagore, a minister of the new sect, married his eldest daughter a few years ago in accordance with a reformed ritual, which was specially prepared for the body, and from which all ceremonies inconsistent with its professed opinions were excluded. The marriage was presided over by a Brāhman minister, and the collateral social observances which obtain on the occasion of marriages amongst Hindús, were adhered to. Yet his Hindú friends and relatives forsook him, they did not even honour the nuptials with their presence. Since then he has been held to be an outcaste by those who had heretofore been dear and near to him. Babú Rajnarain Bose, another Brāhma minister, also married his daughter according to the reformed ritual, but he likewise was treated no better. Since then about forty marriages have been contracted in accordance with the the ritual laid down by the Samāj. Widows have remarried and some Brahmas have intermarried. But a doubt occurred to certain members of the body, who were interested in the movement, whether the marriages celebrated were valid in the eye of the law. Under these circumstances they thought of taking the opinion of the Advocate General in the matter. Mr Cowie, in reply to certain questions on which his opinion was solicited said,—“In the present state “of the law, such marriages are not binding on the parties, “and the (so-called) wife would have no legal redress if “deserted by her husband, nor would the offspring of such unions “be legitimate or have any rights of succession, though it would of “course be perfectly competent for the parents to provide for such “children by will. I cannot offer any anticipation as to what “the legislature would or would not do. The adoption of a particular form of marriage by the members of the Brāhma-samāja “would, in the legal sense, be no more a custom than their adoption of a particular religious creed. Any provision made by will “by a member of the Brāhma-samāja in favour of his children “would be paramount to the claims of any Hindú relatives, and “this would extend, so far as Bengal is concerned, to the father’s

"share in ancestral as well as to his self-acquired property In the
 "provinces other than Bengal, where the testamentary power is
 "more limited, and also in the absence of a will, the children would
 "not be entitled to the succession But even where the *Mitāksharā*
 "law prevails, the father may leave by will his self-acquired prop-
 "erty to his children by a marriage according to the forms adopted
 "by the *Brahma-samāja*. It would be a prudent precaution in all
 "cases for the testator to name the children whom he intends to
 "make his devisees, and not merely to refer to them as his children
 "or sons or daughters I would suggest to the Brahminist commu-
 "nity, that it will be of great importance to their interests to obtain,
 "if possible, some authoritative legal decision on the question (one
 "which I regard as at present very obscure) how far the legal
 "validity, as distinguished from the orthodox regularity, of marriages
 "between *Hindūs* depends on the observance of particular cere-
 "monies And I need hardly add that marriages solemnised ac-
 "cording to the forms adopted by the community, are morally
 "binding on the parties, even though no rights, which the law re-
 "cognizes, are hereby created."

The opinion of the Advocate General was tantalising Those who thought that *Brahma* marriages were invalid, were prepared for what the highest legal authority in the land told them But still some of the *Brāhmas*, who entertained the belief that such marriages were valid under the existing law, hesitated to accept the opinion as final in a matter in which the vital interests of the issues of such marriages were concerned A large majority of these bowed to the legal opinion, and thought of using it for the purpose for which it was taken At this time the *Brahma Samāj* was divided into two sections, the *Adi Samāj* and the *Brāhma Samāja* of India. The members of the latter convened a meeting on 5th July 1868 at the *Brahma Mission House*, No 300, *Chitpore Road*, *Calcutta*, to consider the advisability of memorialising Government for the legalisation of *Brahma* marriages *Bābū Keshub Chunder Sen* presided at this meeting The opinions of the committee, appointed at a previous meeting to take the subject into consideration, were read. After an animated discussion, the following resolution was adopted — "That in the opinion of this meeting, it is desirable to memorialise Government for the legalisation of *Brahma* marriages" The chairman informed the meeting that most of the provincial *Brāhma Samājes* had communicated their opinions, and were anxious for the presentation of a memorial to Government on the subject. Subsequently the *Brāhmas* represented, through their leader *Bābū Keshub Chunder Sen*, to Government the extreme hardship under which they laboured in regard to the celebration of their marriages in accordance with the reformed ritual to which reference has already

been made, and the social disabilities and penalties which they incurred in the absence of a legal sanction to such marriages. Lord Lawrence was, at the time to which we are alluding, Viceroy and Governor General of India, and one of the cleverest of English jurists was legal member of His Excellency's Council. The necessity for the relief sought was manifest, and the reasonableness of the prayer could not be denied.

On 10th September 1868, the Hon'ble Mr. Maine introduced a Bill to legalise marriages between certain Natives of India not professing the Christian religion. The course pursued was just what any other enlightened Government would have pursued under similar circumstances. Mr. Maine said that the Bill had been prepared at the instance of a sect called the Bráhmas, which, since its foundation by Rájá Rám Mohan Ray, had gone on progressing. In the course of the speech which he delivered at the meeting of Council on the introduction of the measure, the Hon'ble gentleman remarked—and we think justly—that “it was not the policy of the Queen's Government in India to refuse the power of marriage to any of Her Majesty's subjects, and he doubted whether even orthodox Hindús would wish to deny to the Bráhmas a legal privilege fully enjoyed by Santáls and Gonds. Some slight difficulty had occurred in the preparation of the measure. When relief in any matter connected with religion was sought by any sect or body of the natives of India, and when a case for such relief was established, he held it to be good policy to confine the relief to the particular sect or body making the application. Considering the unknown depths of native feeling on these subjects, it was better not to generalise beyond the immediate necessity, and hence Mr. Maine thought the policy which confined the relief of the Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act to Christians was sound, although there were doubtless other classes in the same position. But after much conversation with the native gentleman above referred to, Mr. Maine had convinced himself that the creed of the Brahmas lacked stability. The process by which the sect was formed might be increasing in activity, but there seemed also to be a growing disinclination to accept any set of common tenets. It would be difficult for legal purposes to define a Bráhma, and if no definition were given, there might shortly be petitions for relief by persons who were in the same legal position as the present applicants, but who declared that they could not conscientiously call themselves Bráhmas. Hence the Bill had been drawn with some degree of generality. It would legalise marriages between natives of India not professing the Christian, and objecting to be married in accordance with the rites of the Hindú, Muhammadan, Buddhist, Pársi or Jewish religions, provided the marriages were celebrated under certain

"conditions. The religions mentioned were the only recognised religions of India which were worth referring to"

Whether the sect which had been formed more than forty years ago, and which, according to Mr Maine, was increasing in activity, lacked in stability, was doubtless beside the issue raised. Many sects have from time to time started into existence few of these have been stable, as the reader of history knows. Whether the Bengal theist would stand the lapse of time, or would be absorbed into some other sect, would be idle to speculate upon. But since the Bráhmas asked for relief on a question of vital importance, it was but fair that the relief should be afforded to them in some shape by the legislature.

The conditions on which, by the provisions of the Bill, relief was intended to be given, may according to Mr Maine be summed up thus — "That marriages should be solemnised in the presence of an official to be styled the Registrar of Native Marriages, that the parties should be unmarried, that the husband should be over the age of eighteen, and the wife over the age of fourteen, and that the parties should not be related to each other in any of the degrees prohibited in the first schedule. If the wife had not completed the age of eighteen years, the previous consent of her father or guardian was also required. The Registrar would be appointed for each district by the Local Government, and would probably be, as in the case of Parsee marriages, the Registrar appointed under the law for the registration of assurances. The Registrar would make a certificate of the marriage, and enter it in his register, which would be open to public inspection. The Bill also contained a clause legalising prior marriages between the Natives described in the Bill, if the marriage had been solemnised in the presence of three witnesses, and if the provisions as to age, consent, and prohibited degrees had been complied with. Lastly, the Bill contained a clause subjecting every person married under the proposed Act to the penalties of bigamy who, during the lifetime of his other wife or husband, contracted a marriage without having been lawfully divorced."

The motion was agreed to, and Mr Maine said that the Bill would in substance be a Civil Marriage Bill. It was referred to a Select Committee on 27th November 1868, to report in two months. Several objections were urged against the measure, and in the speech which Mr Maine made in the Legislative Council, he explained some of the objections.

The first objection was that it did not apply to Christians. In alluding to this objection, Mr Maine said — "Every imputation that this Government intends to establish an inequality between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects is serious, and therefore

"I am much indebted to those who have pointed out that this objection rests upon misapprehension. The words which render the Bill inapplicable to persons professing the Christian religion are taken from the Statute 14 and 15 Vic. C. 40, which regulates the civil marriage of Christians in India. It was necessary to keep the two systems of registration apart, since it would generally not be convenient for native gentlemen and ladies to have recourse to the Registrar appointed under the statute. But the principle of the present measure is to place natives as nearly as possible on the same footing as Europeans."

The second objection was that civil marriage was only a modern institution in Europe, and that India was not sufficiently advanced to dispense with the necessity of the forms of a religious marriage. "The fallacy of the argument," remarked Mr. Maine, "does not lie in the misstatement of the fact, but in the application of it, and in the assumption that it has any relevancy to the condition of India. It is true that civil marriage, which was once an universal institution of the Western world, disappeared for several centuries, and was only revived about a hundred years ago by the Emperor Joseph II, in the hereditary States of the House of Austria. Probably, the last relics of the absolute obligation of religious marriages at this moment is disappearing in Spain. But the theory which imposed religious marriage in Europe has never had any counterpart in India. In European countries the legislator believed, or professed to believe, that some one religion was true, and could alone impart efficacy to the rites by which marriage was celebrated. That was his justification, whatever it was worth. For the protection of that one religion, and in its interest, he compelled everybody to submit to its ceremonial. But there never has been anything like this in India under the British Government, and whatever were the theory of the Muhammadans, there was nothing like it in their practice. It is a famous saying of a well-known French statesman, 'that the law should be atheistic.' Well, if the expression be permissible, the law of marriage has in this country always been atheistic, in the sense that it has been perfectly indifferent between several religions of which no two could be true. One may be true, but not two. This peculiarity of Indian law results in the rule, that a man may at pleasure desert the religion in which he was born and contract a civil marriage. A Hindu can become a Christian or Muhammadan, or he may adopt the fetichism of the Kóis or Santáls, and he can contract a lawful marriage. But if he stops short of that, as the law stands, marriage is denied to him." Verily so. A native may become a Christian, a Muhammadan, or a Santál or a Gond. In all these cases the right of lawful marriage is not denied

to him But when, as Mr Maine truly observed, " he retains some tenderness for his old faith, and continues to regard it as not absolutely evil, he is debarred from all share in the fundamental institution of organised civil society Such a state of the law is unexampled in Europe."

Yet the opposition against the measure was the strongest from those who could not consistently ignore the arguments advanced by Mr Maine We allude to that section of the educated native community which contended that their rights were invaded

The third objection urged was, that the Government was bound to protect the native religions by forbidding their adherents to desert them except for a recognised faith " There is no doubt," Mr Maine remarked, " that there is some sort of indirect protection to native religions given by this state of the law of marriage in the existing condition of native society " But he asked — " Now, can we continue this protection? I think we cannot Take the case of the applicants for the present measure They say that the ritual to which they must conform, if they wish to contract lawful marriages, is idolatrous I don't use the word offensively, but merely in the sense in which a lawyer in the High Court is occasionally obliged to speak of the family idol They say that the existing Hindú ceremonial of marriage implies belief in the existence or power of, and worship addressed to, idols No doubt there are some of the Bráhmās who have as little belief in these beings as the applicants, but still do not object to go through the ritual, and, naturally enough, they exhibit considerable impatience at the scruples of their co-religionists But that is only a part of the inevitable history of opinion The first step is to disbelieve, the next to be ashamed of the profession of belief The applicants allege that their consciences are hurt and injured by joining in a ritual which implies belief in that which they do not believe Now, can we compel them to submit to this ritual? "

We reply no Certainly not and we believe it is opposed to all sense of a spirit of toleration to impose such a hardship on the consciences of any class or community

Mr Maine continued — " We are bound to refrain from interfering with native religious opinions, simply on the ground that those opinions are not ours, and we are bound to respect the practices, which are the expression of those opinions, so long as they do not violate decency and public order That is the condition of our Government in this country I will even go further and say that, where a part of a community come forward and allege that they are the most enlightened members of it, and call on us to forbid a practice which their advanced ideas lead them to think injurious to their civilisation, the Govern-

"ment should still be cautious * * * * * Here, how-
 "ever, we have a very different case. A number of gentlemen
 "come forward and ask to be relieved from the necessity of sub-
 "mitting to rites against which their own conscience rebels. They
 "do not ask to impose their ideas on others, but to be relieved
 "from a burthen which presses on themselves. Can we refuse
 "the relief? I think we cannot. I think the point is here reach-
 "ed, at which it is impossible for us to forget, that we do not our-
 "selves believe in the existence or virtue or power of the beings
 "in whose honour this ritual is constructed. And I say this the
 "more confidently, because I believe that such a doctrine is in the
 "true interest of the sincere believers in native religions. If we
 "once begin trampling on the rights of conscience, it is very far
 "from certain that the process will continue for the advantage of
 "native religions. The members of these communities have the
 "strongest reason for maintaining the absolute sacredness of the
 "rights of conscience."

We think the position taken by Mr. Maine was incontrovertible. We have no wish to notice the technical difficulties alluded to by the Hon'ble gentleman in the course of his speech. There is another thing to which Mr. Maine alluded, and that was the ignominy to which the issues of such marriages would be subjected, were the marriages to be legally disallowed. He said—"There can be no worse penalty on improper marriages, than the disallowance of such marriages. Such a penalty has almost no characteristic which should distinguish a penalty. As regards those persons who directly join in the supposed offence, it falls on the more scrupulous and leaves the less scrupulous untouched. But in fact it hardly falls on the supposed offenders at all. It is really imposed on the children, who are dishonoured through life for an offence in which they could not possibly have participated. If it be really necessary for us to protect the native religions by forbidding marriages not celebrated with their rites, it is much better that we should effect this by any direct civil penalty, or, if necessary, criminal penalty, rather than by the disallowance of the marriage."

The above hardly needs any comment to commend it to thoughtful persons. Let us now see who were the parties who opposed the measure. Mr. Maine said—"Three petitions had been presented against the Bill, one from the Parsis, which would probably be met by the concession he had proposed. There was another from the British Indian Association, which was in fact a petition against Act XXI of 1850, and which in effect claimed that the majority of the members of every religious community should have absolute power to compel the minority to follow all received ceremonial. A third petition was

"from certain Native gentlemen at Bombay, who begged that the Bill might not be proceeded with till they had had an opportunity of stating their objections to it. Mr Maine would cheerfully have complied with this request, and it would be seen that he had proposed a long date for the report of the Select Committee in order that native opinion might declare itself"

But was the report of the Select Committee presented within two months as agreed to? The report of this Committee is before us. It is dated 27th March 1871. The report on the Bill was hanging fire from 26th January 1869 to 27th March 1871, or upwards of two years. The following extracts will shew the result of the deliberations of this Committee. The Committee said — "It is the unanimous opinion of the Local Governments that the Bill, as introduced, should not be passed. They all, on the other hand, agree that the Bill would be unobjectionable if confined to the Bráhma Samáj, for whose benefit it was originally designed. We have accordingly narrowed its operation to the members of that sect. We have provided that the parties shall, before the solemnisation of the marriage, sign a declaration that they are members of the Bráhma Samáj, that they are unmarried, that the bridegroom has completed his age of 18 years, and the bride her age of 14, that they are not related to each other within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity prohibited by the custom which would have regulated a marriage between them if the Act had not been passed, and (when the wife has not completed her age of eighteen) that the consent of her father or guardian has been given to the marriage."

The Committee recommended that the Bill as amended be passed. The report was signed by the Hon'ble J F Stephen and the Hon'ble F R Cockerell.

At a meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 27th March 1871, Mr Stephen presented the report of the Select Committee and said that "the Bill was circulated to the local Governments and had been much discussed. It appeared that the local Governments were almost unanimous on two points. First, that there could be no objection to give relief to the Brahmas, and, secondly, that very great objection would be felt by all classes of orthodox Hindús if the measure were made a general one. They said that the direct effect of such a measure would be to introduce very considerable alterations in their social rules and the institution of caste generally. He felt the weight of this objection. The Bill, therefore, had been reduced to meet the specific case of the Bráhma Samáj, and provided a simple form by which they would be married according to their own views."

It was expected that the Bill would be passed at the next sitting of the Legislative Council to be held on 31st March 1871. But

why it could not be passed on that date may be gathered from the following words of Mr Stephen. He said —“This was now a Bill for legalising marriages between members of the Bráhma Samáj. Originally, the Bill, as the council were aware, was of a much more general nature, and was received with considerable disfavour by the local governments to which it was referred. They all agreed that if the Bill was confined to the immediate object for which it was introduced, there was no objection to its being passed, and it was clearly desirable that such an Act should be passed. He had supposed that the matter might be settled to day but he had just received a deputation from a part of the members of the Bráhma Samáj,—which it appeared was not altogether unanimous—who said that they had not an opportunity of considering the Bill, although the leading members of the sect had approved of it and that they wished to do so before the measure, which was likely to affect their interests to a considerable extent, became law. That appeared to be a perfectly reasonable suggestion, and accordingly, if he now moved that the report of the Select Committee be taken into consideration, the Bill could be published for general information. There was no immediate hurry in regard to the matter, and it could be passed while the Government was at Simla.”

The Bráhma Samáj, at least that section of it which did not represent the Adi Samáj anxiously looked to the appointed day. The Legislative Council met on 19th July 1871 at Simla. But the Bill as it stood seems to have been doomed. The Government vacillated, and on its vacillation Mr Stephen remarked —“The matter was one of great delicacy and importance, and some explanation appeared desirable as to the course which had been pursued with respect to it. The Bill which was originally brought forward by his predecessor (Mr Maine), would have had the effect of establishing a system of civil marriage for all classes in India. This step was justly considered one of extreme importance, and the opinions of all the local Governments were requested with reference to it. Their opinions were, in many instances, unfavourable to the proposed measure, but it appeared to be generally thought that there would be no objection to a measure which would meet the wants of any individual sect, such as the Bráhma Samáj. A Bill, thus restricted in its scope, was framed accordingly and published in the *Gazette*. Thereupon a deputation had represented that there were great objections to it on the part of many members of the sect. This was entirely new to him (Mr Stephen), as he had supposed that the whole of the Bráhma body wished for a Bráhma Bill, if the general Bill could not be had. He had accordingly promised to wait for three months before proceeding with the Bill

" Just before the end of the three months, there had come another deputation with memorials, the signatures to which were alleged to amount to 2,000, objecting strongly, for reasons set forth in their petition, to the passing of any Bill at all on the subject. Under these circumstances, there seemed but one course open to him, namely, to promise to postpone any further dealings with the Bill till the Government returned to Calcutta, when the representatives of the two opposite factions of the Bráhma sect might be confronted, and the real wishes and objects of each be ascertained. There had been warm discussion in the papers, and the advocates of the measure—progressive Bráhmas as they were called—had complained vehemently at the delay of three years which had occurred in dealing with the measure, their complaints were certainly not altogether unnatural."

Mr Stephen continued—"He, Mr Stephen himself, had been blamed for delaying to pass the Bill now, in deference to objections which the Committee was supposed to have considered before it submitted its report, which objections were contained in a memorial submitted to them in 1868 by the Adí Bráhma Samaj. The fact was, that the memorial in which these grounds were urged, though mentioned in the list of papers referred to in the margin of the report, had never come before him, though it had apparently been considered by the Committee as originally constituted and probably formed one at least of the reasons why the Bill had been thrown originally into a general form. The Bill, as brought to his notice, was a general Civil Marriage Bill, and all the papers before him discussed the propriety of a measure of that nature. There was nothing in any of them to show the existence of any difference of opinion between different sections of the Bráhmas as to a Bráhma Marriage Bill. It was quite true that he had signed the report, which stated the Committee had examined a number of papers mentioned in the margin, of which the memorial of the Adí Bráhma Samaj was one, but he individually had never seen that paper. The papers which he did see referred to the general measure exclusively. The difficulty was really a very considerable one, owing to the divided condition of the sect, and their opposed wishes on the matter. Any class of persons, practically debarred from marriage by their religious belief, certainly seemed to be entitled to legislative relief, but it was one thing to meet the wishes of a small body of persons, and another to make a change which might be regarded in the light of a direct attack on the institutions of the country. When the wishes of the two contending parties among the Bráhmas had been ascertained, an opportunity would be taken of announcing the course which Government intended to pursue with reference to the

"subject, and of stating the form in which whatever relief it might be considered necessary to give, would be given. Apart however from this, the character of the new memorials submitted to him was such, that he considered himself bound to get, if possible, to the bottom of the matter, even at the expense of a delay which he regretted, and the case was emphatically one in which it was a less evil to go too slow than to go too fast."

But what was the real state of things in regard to the division of the two sections of the Bráhma Samáj? In an article dated so far back as 15th October 1868, the *Indian Mirror* wrote as follows —

"We are sorry to see the strength of Bráhma public opinion, in favour of the legalisation of Bráhma marriage, has been underestimated in some quarters, and some have highly exaggerated the disagreement which prevails amongst our community on the subject. With a view to disabuse the public mind of such misconceptions, we feel it our duty to state, that besides the members of the Bráhma Samáj of India in Calcutta, from whom the movement originated, the members of the following Bráhma Samájes have already emphatically declared their approval of it, and lent their hearty support — Dacca, Furríedpore, Burrisaul, Mymensing, Sherepore, Krishnagur, Santipore, Cutwa, Bagachra, Burranaghur, Connaghur, Howrah, Bhagulpore, Berhampore, Malda, Jumalpore, Monghyr, Patna, Mozufferpore, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Bareilly, Lucknow, Lahore, Rawulpindee, Bunnoo and the Prarthana Samáj at Bombay. As regards the other Samájes whose opinions have not yet reached us, we have no doubt they will mostly declare themselves in favor of the movement. The oppositionists thus form a small minority, and are scattered about here and there."

Public opinion at this time was agreed, with very few exceptions, as to the justice of the relief applied for. In an article dated 1st November 1868, the same paper remarked —

"We have read with great interest the opinions of the press for and against the new Marriage Bill, and we are glad to find that almost all our English contemporaries, and the really progressive and liberal portion of the native press have supported it. In some quarter it has excited opposition, but we do not in the least wonder at it. No reform movement can smoothly make its way into the national mind without meeting with some degree of antagonism at the hands of those who are inimical to progress. In the present case the position which the oppositionists have assumed, and the arguments with which they have tried to fortify it, are altogether untenable, and will not bear criticism. To say that the nation does not want the Bill, or that a certain number of Bráhmas do not want it, is of no avail,

"the legislature seeks to give relief to those who do want it, and to them only. As regards the clamour raised by some that Bráhma marriage is Hindú marriage, and is therefore already valid, it may be silenced by the bare mention of the argument that, as Bráhmism is not confined to Hindús only, but has been already embraced by a few Mahomedans, and is likely to be adopted by Parsees and men of other religious denominations in India, it is absurd to suppose that marriages among such Bráhma converts will be, or can be, recognized as Hindú marriages."

In the year 1869, the Secretary of State had issued instructions to the Supreme Government to refer the Native Marriage Bill to the several local Governments and administrations before proceeding in the matter. In accordance with those opinions, the Bill was modified as stated in the report of the select committee, which was presented to the Legislative Council in March 1871, and to which allusion has already been made.

Before the return of the council from Simla in the winter of 1871, a meeting of the Bráhma Samáj of India was held at the Town Hall on 30th September 1871, to hear Bábú Norendra Nath Sen's lecture on the Marriage Law in India, and to elicit public opinion in support of the Bráhma Marriage Bill. As a solicitor of the High Court, the lecturer demolished the position taken by those who were opposed to the Bill. The proceedings of the meeting were brought to a close by the President, Bábú Keshub Chunder Sen, who delivered an able address on the occasion. Bábú Surendra Nath Banerjee, C.S., who spoke at this meeting, said—"It is rather strange that Government should have any scruples on this point, for it would not be difficult to refer to instances in which our rulers, on the clearest grounds of expediency, have not hesitated to disregard such sentiments. I hold it a maxim in politics, that although a Government is bound to pay deference to the religious feelings of its subjects, nevertheless, when those feelings are carried to an unwarrantable extent, it is the duty of the Government not only not to take cognisance of such feelings, but to set them at open defiance. The question which Government has really to decide amounts to this, whether it should pay deference to certain foolish sentiments, or whether it ought to remove from many a Native home one of the most prolific sources of uneasiness and disquiet, which must necessarily cast a kind of gloom over those homes."

Dr Murray Mitchell, who took a part in the proceedings of the meeting, remarked—"But I have carefully read the well-weighed words of Mr Fitzjames Stephen, and it appears to me that he fully concedes the principle for which the progressive Bráhmas are contending. He declares that any body of men who are not capable of being legally married according to their consciences,

"have a right to claim redress Therefore, I say, there is no reason
 "to be discouraged for anything that has issued from the Legisla-
 "tive Council, or from Mr Stephen I have the most perfect
 "confidence that this cold season will not pass over before the
 "relief in some satisfactory form is granted, which many so
 "earnestly crave"

Mr Stephen, on the return of the Council from Simla in October 1871, obtained the views of the two sections of the Brahma Samáj on the question The following extracts from a statement of the Bráhma Samáj of India furnish, to our thinking, a clear exposition of the case —

1 "That the major portion of the Brahmo community do not feel the necessity of such an enactment, and are opposed to any legislative interference in the matter

1 "It will appear from the subjoined list, that of nearly sixty-five Brahmo Somajes in India, fifty-three have supported the Bill, while only three have, up to the present moment, opposed it —

FOR THE BILL

"BENGAL — Bráhma Somáj of India, Barahanagore, Kallyghat, Baripur, Hainavi, Howrah, Connaghur, Chinsurah, Burdwan, Pajmehal, Bhagulpore, Jamalpore, Monghyr, Patna, Gya, Hazaribagh, Krishnaghur, Gournagore, Kooshtea, Coomercolly, Osmanpore, Sehdah, Furreedpore, Bogra, Beauleah, Dacca, Burrisaul, Chittagong, Brahmanbaria, Kallygatcha, Kishengunge, Mymensing, Sylhet, Cachar, Sibsagur, Nowgong, Gowhatty, Gowalpara, Cuttack

"NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES — Allahabad Branch of the Brahmo Somáj of India, Cawnpore, Bareilly, Agra, Toondla, Dehra Doon

"ODDH — Lucknow

"CENTRAL PROVINCES — Jubbulpore

"PUNJAB — Lahore, Rawul Pindie

"MADRAS — Southern India Brahmo Somáj, Bangalore, Mangalore.

"BOMBAY — Prárthana Somáj

AGAINST THE BILL.

"Calcutta Adí Somáj Berhampore, Allahabad

"As regards the parties who have married according to the rites of the Bráhma Somáj, the majority of them are anxious to have their marriages legalized Out of thirty-nine Brahmos who have so married, only ten seem to deny the necessity of a legislative enactment, of these ten, seven belong to the family of the leader of the opposition movement.

2. "That the Bill is aggressive, inasmuch as it invalidates all marriages between Bráhmos unless solemnized according to the provision of the Bill, although such marriages may be conformable to the Hindú scriptures.

2 "The Bill is entirely of a permissive character. It seeks to legalise marriages between Bráhmós 'when solemnised in accordance with the provisions of this Act,' but it does not say that such marriages would be illegal if otherwise solemnised. Should, however, the word '*when*' appear to the legislature to be ambiguous, the preamble may be thus worded —

" 'Whereas marriages between members of the sect called the Bráhmó Somáj are held to be illegal unless solemnised in accordance with the rites of some religion recognised by law, it is expedient to legalise such marriages when solemnized in accordance with the provisions of this Act, it is hereby enacted as follows, &c' "

3 "That the operation of the law will tend to separate the Brahmos from the Hindú community of whom they form an integral part

3 "It is a well known fact that Brahmos are excluded from the Hindú community directly they take the bold step of marrying according to Bráhmó rites. It is owing to this reason that so few Bráhmó marriages have taken place. Even those who have married according to the rites of the conservative school have been excommunicated

4 "That legislative interference is not needed in regard to the reformation of social customs

4 "The history of social reformation in India shows, that the interposition of the legislature has always been sought and obtained by native reformers in spite of the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the orthodox Hindú community. The Act for the suppression of Suttee and the Hindú Widows Re-marriage Act are instances in point

5. "That there are many Hindú sects whose marriages, though not strictly conformable to the orthodox rites enjoined by the Shastras, have in course of time been accepted as valid, and that the same principle applies to the Brahmos

5 "The principle contended for does not apply to Bráhmó marriages. The plea of custom cannot be urged in favour of social innovations which date only ten years back. The late Advocate General, Mr T. H. Cowie, says — 'The adoption of a particular form of marriage by the members of the Bráhmó Somáj would, in the legal sense, be no more a *custom* than their adoption of a particular religious creed'

6 "That the Bill prescribes a civil form of marriage and wholly dispenses with religious rites

6 "The Bill does not compel the Brahmos to dispense with the religious nuptial rites observed by them, which in their estimation are essential to the sanctity of marriage. Its effect will be that the Bráhmós, while continuing to observe their present material

ceremony, will super-add to it the civil form of registration prescribed in the Bill. In cases where the Registrar calls at the place of marriage, the religious and civil forms may be simultaneously observed.

7 "That the age prescribed in the Bill for contracting marriage is not conformable to the usages of the country, and that the marriageable age of native girls is below 14 years.

7 "The object of those who pray for the Bill is to reform the usages of the country. In the opinion of the leading medical authorities in India, who were consulted on the subject, the age at which native girls ought to marry is 16. According to some 14 is the minimum marriageable age.

8 "That the word 'Brahma' is vague and indefinite.

8 "It is not more difficult to define a Bráhmo than to define a Hindú for legal purposes, yet public opinion has attached to each word a significance which can hardly be mistaken. It is only by a profession of belief in certain fundamental doctrines that a Hindú, Buddhist, Mahomedan, Christian, or Brahmo may be distinguished.

9 "That the Bill is unnecessary, because the Bráhmos in celebrating their marriages, discard only those Hindú ceremonies which are idolatrous, and which are not essential to a valid Hindu marriage. Bráhmo marriages retain all that is essential to Hindú marriage, and are therefore, valid both (a) in the eye of the law, and (b) in the opinion of the Hindú community.

9 (a) "That Bráhmo marriages are legally invalid and entail civil disabilities on the parties marrying, and their descendants, and that a special enactment is necessary, will appear from the following opinion of the late Advocate General —

"In the absence of special enactment a marriage between two members of a new religious community, such as the Bráhma Samáj, not celebrated in accordance with the provision of any of the Marriage Acts in force in India, nor with those required by Hindú Law would, I apprehend, be invalid.

"It follows that, in the present state of the law, such marriages as last adverted to are not binding on the parties, and that the (so called) wife would have no legal redress if deserted by her husband, nor would the offspring of such unions be legitimate or have any rights of succession."

(b) "According to the leading Pandits in Calcutta, Benares, and Nuddea, to whom the subject was referred for opinion, Bráhmo marriages are inconsonant with the Shastras, and likewise with Hindu usages, inasmuch as they lack the essential ceremonies which constitute Hindú marriage. The two ceremonies which, in their opinion, are essential to the validity of Hindú marriage are *Kushandika* and *Saptapadi*. Both these have been discarded

by the Brahmos. It is also held essential by the said Pandits, that the parties marrying should be members of the same caste, intermarriages being strictly forbidden in the *Kali Yuga* or present age. But the Brahmos cannot submit to the restrictions of caste in regard to marriage, since they have no faith in caste distinctions as prescribed by Hindúism, and already 14 (out of 39) marriages among the Brahmos have been contracted between members of different castes.

10 "That the passing of the proposed law will lead to complications in regard to questions of succession and inheritance.

10 "The complications apprehended may be easily avoided by extending to the parties marrying under the proposed law the Indian Succession Act (Act X of 1865) which is clearly applicable to them. The above Act exempts from its operation only Hindús, Mahomedans, and Buddhists. But the term Hindú does not include the Brahmos, who deny the authority of the Vedas, are opposed to every form of Brahmanical religion, and being eclectics admit proselytes from Hindús, Mahomedans, Christians, and other religious sects. This is tacitly admitted by the opponents of the Bill who in stating the objection under consideration in their memorial to the legislature, instance the case of a Hindú convert to Brahmoism marrying the daughter of a Native Christian or a Mahomedan girl who has become a Brahmo. Under the authority vested by Section 332 of the above Act in the Governor General of India in Council, he may make it applicable to the Brahmos, who are not Hindus according to the meaning of the Act, by inserting a clause to that effect in the present Bill."

The views of the two sections were duly considered by Mr Stephen, and a committee was appointed to report on the measure. On 16th January 1872, the Hon'ble gentleman, in an exhaustive speech on the subject, moved that the report of the select committee be taken into consideration. Mr Stephen said—"A religious body called the Bráhma-Samáj, which has been for many years in existence, has for some time past acquired a considerable degree of prominence and importance in most of the great cities of India. It is interesting on many accounts, but above all, because Bráhmism is at once the most European of native religions, and the most living of all native versions of European religion. One of the points on which the Brahmas have most closely followed English views, and one of the most important points in their whole system, is the matter of marriage. Brahmas, in common with Englishmen, believe that marriage should be the union for life, in all common cases, of one man with one woman, and the most numerous body of the Bráhmas go a step further, and are of opinion that marriage should be regarded in

"the light of a contract between a mature man and a mature woman of a suitable age"

That Mr Stephen had thoroughly studied the subject, would appear from his remarks on the two sections of the *Bráhma Samáj*, he said — "The Progressive *Bráhmas* have broken far more decisively with *Hindúism* than the conservatives. The object of the conservatives is to pour the new wine into the old bottles, so that the one may not be wasted nor the other broken. The Progressive *Bráhmas* undertake to provide at once new wine and new bottles."

"As regards marriage," Mr Stephen continued, "the difference between the two parties appears to be this,—the marriage ceremonies adopted by the Progressive *Brahmas* depart more widely from the *Hindu* law than those which are in use amongst the *Adi-Brahmas*. The *Adi-Brahmas* indeed, contend that, by *Hindú* law, their ceremonies, though irregular, would be valid. The Progressive *Brahmas* admit that by *Hindú* law, their marriages would be void. Moreover, the Progressive *Brahmas* are opposed both to infant marriage and to polygamy far more decisively than the conservative party."

Mr Maine had described the marriage law of British India, as he said he understood it, in the following words — "By the 'Bengal Civil Courts' Act, which consolidates and re-enacts the 'old Regulations, and by corresponding Regulations in Madras and Bombay, the Courts are to decide, in questions regarding marriage in which the parties are *Hindús*, according to *Hindú* law, if the parties are *Muhammadans*, according to *Muhammadan* law, and, in cases not specially provided for, according to justice, equity and good conscience. Custom also has, in most parts of India, the force of law in this matter, although the exact legal ground on which its force stands, differs to some extent in different parts of the country. There are also a variety of Acts of Parliament, and Acts of the Indian legislatures, which regulate marriages between *Christians*, *Europeans* and *natives*, and between *Parsis*. As the *Bráhmas* were neither *Muhammadans*, nor *Parsis*, nor *Christians*, no other mode of marriage was expressly provided for them by law, and the inference was drawn that they were unable to marry at all. I do not myself think that this inference was correct, but, for the present, I postpone the consideration of that subject. To one most heavy grievance they were beyond all question subjected. No form of marriage legally constituted, and valid beyond all doubt or question, was provided for them, and I do not know whether such a state of things is not a greater grievance than a downright disability to marry."

This was a hardship which neither Mr Stephen, nor we believe

any Englishman, would tolerate Mr Maine admitted the hardship under which the Bráhma Samáj laboured in respect of its marital rites until those rites received the sanction of the legislature Mr Maine thought, remarked Mr Stephen, that "a clear injustice"—and especially a clear injustice distinctly traceable to the "influence of English habits of thought—could not, and must not, be permitted, whether the persons affected were few or many, popular or the reverse I cannot say how strongly I join in this opinion I think that one distinct act of wilful injustice, one clear instance of unfaithfulness to the principles on which our Government of India depends, one positive proof that we either cannot or will not do justice, on what we regard as such, to all classes, races, creeds or no-creeds to be found in British India, would, in the long run shake our power more deeply than even military or financial disaster"

Of the grave injustice of allowing any portion of our fellow-subjects to labour under social disabilities on the score of religious scruples it is impossible to speak too strongly Mr Maine felt as an Englishman and spoke strongly on what he conceived to be a downright injustice That section of the Bráhma Samáj which wished to have its marriages celebrated according to rites which they considered to be as yet illegal, had every right to legislative interference But Mr Stephen we believe, was anxious not to displease that section of it which was bitterly opposed to a measure, the object of which was to legalise marriages which had been pronounced to be illegal by counsel, and by professors of Hindú law, not only of Calcutta, but of Nuddea and Benares Mr Stephen seems to have been staggered at the difficulty of reconciling the two sections, or of causing annoyance to either To quote his own words, "What is to happen if a Bráhma wants to marry a Positivist? Are we to have a Bill for Brahmas, a Bill for Positivists, a Bill for half and half couples? If so, when a few more sects have been established, and when a Bill has to be framed on the principle of providing for the combinations of a number of things, taken two together, our statute book will become a regular jungle of Marriage Acts"

But in framing the modified Bill, Mr Stephen did not lose sight of the objections which had been urged against the Bill introduced by Mr Maine He said —The answers of the local Governments were "unfavourable to the Bill proposed, and stated the grounds upon which it was objected to so fully, as to supply the Government with all the information necessary to enable them to deal with the subject finally All the grounds of objection may, I think, be reduced to one, namely, that the Bill, as drawn and circulated, would introduce a great change into native law, and involve interference with native social relations On a full and

"repeated consideration of the whole subject, the Government were unanimously of opinion that this objection ought to prevail."

Those who opposed the Native Marriage Bill contended that the Hindú law on the subject should not be modified, and that the legislature by taking action in this direction interfered with rights and usages which it had no right to interfere with. Mr. Stephen did not lose sight of the principle involved in this argument. He remarked — "Native laws should not be changed by direct legislation, except in extreme cases, though they may and ought to be moulded by the courts of justice so as to suit the changing circumstances of society. If this principle is fully grasped it will, I think, serve as the key to nearly every question which can be raised as to the alteration of native laws, and, in particular, it will be found to justify in all its leading features, the policy pursued in this matter by the Government of India on previous occasions, and the policy which I now propose that it should pursue on the present occasion."

Mr. Stephen continued — "If you have two or more parallel systems of personal law, and if there are no means of deciding which of them applies to any particular person the only means of arriving at such a decision will be by considering what mode of life he has, as a matter of fact, adopted. If these systems of law correspond (as is the case with Hindú and Muhammadan law) to two different and antagonistic religions, it is necessary, either to forbid a man to change his religion (which of course is impossible under a Government like ours), or to permit him to change his law. The second branch of the alternative has been adopted by the Government of India, and has influenced alike its legislation and the judicial decisions of its courts. Its adoption was solemnly announced by Act XXI of 1850, which provides, in substance, that no law or usage in force in British India shall be enforced as law, which inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property, or which may be held in any way to impair or affect any right of inheritance by reason of his having renounced, or having been excluded from, the communion of any religion, or having been deprived of caste. The effect of this enactment deserves careful attention. Sanctions, in all cases, are the essence of laws, and the unfailing tests by which they are distinguished from other rules of conduct. The subject matter of the personal laws which exist in British India (marriage, inheritance, caste, &c.) does not admit of their being invested with a penal sanction. Their sanction lies in the fact that, if they are observed, certain civil rights are established, and that, if they are not observed, those rights are forfeited. The *Lex Loci* Act, therefore, by declaring that the renunciation

" of, or exclusion from the communion of any religion should
" not affect a man's civil rights, did in fact deprive the native
" religions of the character of law as against those who might cease
" to profess them "

But before bringing forward the third edition of the Native Marriage Bill, Mr Stephen consulted both sections of the Bráhma Samáj, as we have already said. Those members of the Samáj who sought for the Bill, said Mr Stephen, unreservedly accepted the offer " made to them by me on behalf of the Government ,
" and the Adí-Samáj have, with equal frankness, admitted that
" the measure is one to which they have no right and no wish
" to object. As for the views of the general body of the native
" community, they appear, I think, sufficiently from the replies
" which were received to Sir Henry Mune's Bill. The great
" majority of the native community would regard with indifference a measure applying to persons who stand outside the pale
" of the native religions. A minority object to the principle
" involved in Act XXI of 1850, and would probably like to see
" defection from a native religion visited by the heaviest disabilities which it is in the power of law or usage to inflict. The
" British Indian Association of Bengal petitioned against the first
" edition of this Bill expressly on the ground that Act XXI of
" 1850, was passed against the wishes of the native community.
" It is, I think utterly out of the question to act upon their view of
" the subject, and whatever inconvenience arises from their objection to the measure must be endured. I believe, however, that
" to the vast majority of the population, its passing will be a
" matter of indifference. Inaction is, for the reasons already
" stated, altogether impossible "

Now then, as regards the provisions of the Act before us. In the words of Mr Stephen they " provide a form of marriage, to
" be celebrated before the Registrar, for persons who do not profess
" either the Hindú, the Muhammadan, the Pársí, the Síkh, the
" Jaina, or the Buddhist religion, and who are neither Christians
" nor Jews. The conditions are—that the parties are at the time
" unmarried, that the man is at least eighteen and the woman
" at least fourteen, and that, if under eighteen, she has obtained
" the consent of her father or guardian, and that they are not
" related to each other in any degree of consanguinity or affinity
" which, by the law to which either of them is subject, would
" prevent their marriage. But no rule or custom of any such
" religion, other than one relating to consanguinity or affinity,
" is to prevent their marriage. Nor is any such rule to prevent
" them from marrying unless relationship can be traced through
" a common ancestor standing to each in a relationship nearer
" than that of great-great-grandfather or great-great-grandmother,

“ or unless the one person is the lineal ancestor, or the brother
 “ or sister of any lineal ancestor of the other This proviso will
 “ permit marriages under the Act between persons of different
 “ castes, and also between persons whose marriages are at present
 “ prohibited on account of a merely fabulous common ancestor
 “ No one who is at present unable to marry his second cousin
 “ will be permitted to do so by this Bill, but it seemed to us
 “ that a line ought to be drawn somewhere, and that the relation-
 “ ship between third cousins might reasonably be set aside ”

It might be wished however that the legislature had taken into consideration whether the clause regarding consanguinity might not with advantage have been modified to suit those who were anxious to adapt their marriage customs according to enlightened principles But it would be for those directly interested in the matter to lay their views before Government on the point We mention this, as we have been told that several educated native gentlemen object to that part of the clause which permits marriage with third cousins But this is a point of minor importance, and there can hardly be much difficulty in settling it hereafter

The Government, we need hardly remark, was as much under a moral obligation to its subjects to recognise the existence of Hindú laws and customs, as to afford legal protection to those who renounced them from conscientious scruples Mr Stephen, alluding to this point, remarked—‘ By recognising the existence
 “ of the Hindú religion as a personal law on this matter of marriage, I think that we have contracted an obligation to enforce
 “ its provisions in their entirety upon those who choose to live under them, just as we have, by establishing the general principle
 “ of religious freedom, contracted a further obligation to protect
 “ any one who chooses to leave the Hindú religion against injury
 “ for having done so, and to provide him with institutions recognised by law, and suitable to his peculiar position I think
 “ that it is hardly possible for us to hold other language on the
 “ subject than this—‘ Be a Hindú or not, as you please, but be
 “ one thing or the other, and do not ask us to undertake the impossible task of constructing some compromise between Hindúism
 “ and not-Hindúism, which will enable you to evade the necessity of knowing your own minds’ The present Bill is framed
 “ upon these principles ”

On the grounds set forth, Mr Stephen strongly recommended that the Bill as amended be passed, and it was generally expected that it would pass But there apparently lurked an opposition inside the council chamber which the executive council did not anticipate For the report of the select committee had been signed, and the Bill had been duly considered and amended by

the Hon'ble J F Stephen, the Hon'ble J Strachey, the Hon'ble F R. Cockerell, the Hon'ble J F D Inglis, the Hon'ble W Robinson, and the Hon'ble F S Chapman

The Hon'ble Mr Inglis moved that the Bill be recommitted, and referred for report to the several local Governments, in order to obtain native public opinion on its provisions. He did not object to the Bill being passed, but he was anxious that native advice be obtained on the details of the measure. The Bill, he said, required a declaration from any one desirous of being married under its provisions, that he does not profess the Christian, Jewish, Hindú, Muhammadan, Pársí, Buddhist, Sikh, or Jaina religion, and such a declaration will for ever bar the return of the person making it to the religious communion he does not belong to. In this view of the case Mr Ellis said he was unable to agree. He apprehended that facilities might be afforded to clandestine marriages by the Bill. He said that there was ground to fear that advantage might be taken "by designing parties" to entrap young lads of family position, infatuated with some "dancing girl, and utterly reckless of consequences, into a marriage" which can only end in disgrace and ruin. Accordingly, Mr Ellis moved that the passing of the Bill be postponed.

The Hon'ble Mr Cockerell said that he fully approved of the principle of the Bill, but he was at one with the Hon'ble Mr Ellis as to the form for giving effect to that principle. He denied that any apprehensions need be entertained as to the tendency of the measure to bring trouble and disgrace into respectable families by facilitating disreputable marriages where the male party marrying must be eighteen years of age. But it was right that the provisions of the Bill be maturely considered, and generally known, he therefore supported the amendment of Mr Inglis. The Hon'ble Mr Bullen Smith concurred with his two colleagues in regard to the necessity for the postponement of the measure. He said that it certainly was a matter of great regret that any "body of men should labour under disabilities so great as those" which have been put so clearly before the Council by the Hon'ble "Mr Stephen." But at the same he considered it "a greater evil" that anything savouring of precipitate legislation should emanate from this Council. He thought that it was a "minor evil that an important, but still somewhat small, body who" were specially interested in the speedy passing of this Bill "should continue to remain in that condition for a short time" longer, than that a charge of precipitance should be applied "to this measure." The Hon'ble Mr Stewart said that he concurred in the expediency of the measure, but he thought that the postponement asked for was advisable. The Hon'ble Mr. Chapman whilst admitting that "the small sect at whose in-

"stance this measure has been introduced have a perfect right to "represent the disabilities under which they believe themselves "to be suffering " and that the Government was "doing no more "than their duty in affording them relief," was still opposed to the immediate passing of the Bill. The Hon'ble Mr Robinson said that the provisions of the Bill in general had his approval, "subject, however, to the result of further and wider discussion "by these most interested, by those who, I believe, are alone "competent to advise us safely in a matter of this kind" He therefore supported the motion for postponement "with much "earnestness and assurance"

His Excellency the President in a speech which must ever possess a thrilling interest for all promoters of native reform, said — "I was not aware till yesterday that there could be any "reason urged against the immediate passing of the Bill

"The Hon'ble members who have taken objection to the proceedings which my hon'ble friend has recommended in Council, "seem to have forgotten that this important question has been "before the Indian public for about *four* years, that every native "authority in India has had an opportunity of giving an opinion "upon the subject, and that the main provisions of this Bill have "been more or less discussed in connection with former proposals "which have been made"

His Excellency continued — "The Bill is in thorough harmony "with the principles upon which the Government is founded, "namely, complete and entire liberty and tolerance in respect "of every religious creed within the limits of the empire. I "cannot conceive that any man will venture at this time of day "to object to this principle, the existence of which is coeval with "our rule in India. On the part of the Government I must say "that I am quite prepared to declare that we are determined to "carry out that great principle in this matter, and that we intend "to relieve this, the Bráhma Samáj, or any other sect of our fellow-subjects, from any disability under which they labour. Other "religious sects in India have been similarly relieved, and no "matter what reasons may be brought to the contrary, I am prepared here to say that this Government will never consent to "continue a state of the law which has the effect of imposing a "severe disability upon a portion of our fellow-subjects, going, "possibly, even to the extent of making their wives concubines, "their children bastards, and rendering the devolution of their "property insecure. As far as the principle of the measure, "therefore, is concerned, the determination of the Government is "to enforce it"

"With regard to the details, we are convinced that, as the Bill "now stands, it interferes in no way with the religious freedom,

"practice, or authority of any sect or creed, be it new or old. I do not believe that the most orthodox Hindú—a Hindú who is most attached to his religion—would ever declare that persons who secede from that religion are to suffer disabilities with regard to marriage, in fact, if I am not mistaken, it will be found, in the earlier papers which have been published on this subject, that Hindú authorities have declared that laws affecting the marriage of persons other than those who profess the Hindú creed are matters of indifference to them, and that, in the discussion of such measures, they, as Hindus, had no concern. It therefore seems to me that the plea for delay in this case is somewhat overstated"

"At the same time, if there are members of this Council who really believe that there is a possibility of a valid objection being made to the details of this Bill, or of suggestions coming up from any part of India for the improvement of its provisions, I, for one, should not be prepared to offer any objection to the plea for postponement for a very short time. But the postponement must be limited, and, in agreeing thereto, I must again repeat that it is the firm determination of the Government to pass this Bill. My hon'ble friend (Mr Stephen) referred to a personal promise which he gave to some of the members of the Bráhma-Samaj who are most interested in this measure, and most naturally desire a speedy relief from the disability under which they lie, the disadvantage of which they deeply feel. I myself informed one of the most distinguished members of the Bráhma-Samaj that their case for relief was complete and ought to be met, and, therefore, in consenting to the short postponement of this measure, I hope it will be distinctly understood that we intend to pass the Bill as nearly as possible in this form—at all events embodying its leading principle—and that, no matter what objection may be taken by any community in any part of India the Government is pledged to the passing of the measure, and intends to redeem that pledge. In consenting, therefore, to the postponement of the further progress of this Bill for one month, I distinctly announce that it is the intention of the Government to press and pass it into law as soon as possible"

The Hon'ble Mr Stephen agreed to the postponement on the express understanding that it should not be submitted to the local Governments for opinion, as such a course would indefinitely postpone the measure. The Hon'ble Mr Strachey completely agreed with the Hon'ble Mr Stephen, and earnestly deprecated any further reference to the local Governments on the subject. He thought "this was by no means a question regarding which we could safely go on for an unlimited period, asking for criticisms and

"opinions from local Governments We all know how prone the mind of the people of this country was to all sorts of ignorant fancies and suspicions in regard to matters which affected their religion He thought the Council would be doing a most foolish thing if it were to run any risk of stirring up doubts and difficulties respecting this measure, which it was perfectly certain had now no existence, and which would never have any existence unless we went out of our way to excite them "

The Hon'ble Mr Ellis said that he was glad that His Excellency the President had suggested a postponement of this Bill for short period (one month) In alluding to Mr Maine's Bill, and the Bráhma Marriage Bill, Mr Ellis said — "To all those Bills objections had been taken, and Mr Ellis thought most reasonably, by the native communities, and by the Local Governments, on the principle that the religion and creeds of other people were being interfered with for the benefit of one sect of the community At the same time that that objection was urged, every Local Government without exception, and every Native community that expressed any opinion at all upon that point, assured the Council that there was no objection to a Bill framed upon the principle upon which the present Bill was based He thought, therefore, that we had every assurance that the Native communities and the Local Governments had no valid objection to offer to this Bill, because they had already discussed it, and had already virtually expressed an opinion in favour of it No one was more opposed to the former Bill than he was, or to any Bill that would interfere with the orthodox creeds of those who maintained the faith of their fathers, and he was pretty sure of his ground when he said that he was convinced that those who objected to the former Bill, would have no sort of objection to raise to the principle upon which the present Bill was based "

The Hon'ble Sir Richard Temple said — "After all that had been heard upon this Bill, he thought he might say that every one of the sections in it was of such a character that Members ought to be able to say 'yes' or 'no' regarding it For his own part, he was prepared to say 'yes' to every one of them, and that being the case, he was prepared to vote for the immediate passing of this Bill He thought, however, that there could be no objection to a delay of one month, but after that, he did hope that the Bill would be passed as soon as possible "

The postponement of the Bill for a short period was agreed to. But has public opinion spoken itself on it?

The *Indo Prokash* in writing on the subject remarked —

"We think this is a very fair decision of the question which has proved a crux to the Legislative Council of the Viceroy for more than the last two years No party, we think, can fairly complain

of the measure as it now stands, after the amendments and changes it has undergone in the Select Committee”

The *Hindu Reformer*, another journal of Bombay, wrote as follows —“ The measure thus sketched successfully aims at completeness. It, moreover, meets the case of those who require it, but keeps clear of such as do not want it. Its spirit, therefore, is fair, but its latitudinarianism is not quite a matter of necessity. There are one or two provisions which seem to us liable to a most serious objection. The first is the proposed rule regarding consanguinity or affinity. The parties first marrying under the Act ‘ must not be connected in any degree of consanguinity or affinity which by the law to which either of them is subject would render a marriage between them illegal.’ Now this seems to us defective, inasmuch as hereby parties who are supposed to renounce their allegiance to the old law are still compelled to observe its restriction on this particular point. Although from principle the law must be made general, and applicable to inter-marriages between individuals of any two religions or sects, still the majority of them will be Hindús, though of different castes, and sometimes of the same caste. In this latter case the restriction as regards the *gotra* will have force, and thus, in some cases, at any rate, the provision will act as a hardship preventing unions otherwise unexceptionable”

The *Bombay Gazette* concluded an able article on the measure in the following words —“ As regards mere abjurers of the old creed who have not adopted the new, the Bill which forms the subject of Mr Stephen’s speech provides a remedy for their exclusion from the recognized communities. That remedy could assume but one form, that of a purely civil marriage under the sanction of the State, and imposing on each party a set of obligations determined not by the traditions of Hindooism, or even of Christianity, but by such light as the experience of centuries has thrown on what is best for the individual and the community. The bill is a mere rough outline of which the details will have to be filled in by a multitude of judicial decisions. It does not go so far as we may think possible, but it points in the right direction, and is one stage won in that process of assimilation of institutions, side by side and growing out of an increasing harmony of principles, which is the necessary basis upon which diverse nations must be built up into the fabric of a united and enduring empire” •

The *Friend of India* after discussing the *pros* and *cons* with its usual independence and fearlessness, sums up as follows —

“ We are sorry that this Bill, above all Bills, is delayed. It has been so long before the public, has been so thoroughly discussed, has been referred back and forward so often, and rests funda-

"mentally on principles so well understood, that the Council
 "might very well have passed it at once, or, at least, might have
 "entered on the discussion of it We believe that the real secret
 "of the delay arises from the fact that some members of the
 "Council look upon Mr Stephen's course as in some measure a
 "despotic one It may have been so—we do not know But at
 "all events no such opinion ought to interfere with the passing
 "of so great a measure If Mr Stephen were a thorough despot,
 "and could rest a measure on the principles upon which he has
 "rested this measure, and could justify it by the arguments by
 "which he has justified this, the measure ought to become law
 "Of course, there may be some possible amendments of which we
 "at present know nothing, but we fancy the Bill will pass pretty
 "nearly as it is, and it will be one of the most important steps in
 "the history of Indian Legislation"

The *Pioneer* was so confident of the justice of the measure at the time that it undertook to predict that it would be passed before the ides of March had passed away, and the prediction has been fulfilled The *Englishman* noticed the measure in two leaders, and refuted *seriatim* all Mr Inglis's arguments in favour of the delay in passing the Bill, and entirely supported the enactment of the law The *Hindu Patriot* also remarked that "the present Bill has the concurrence and support of all classes of the Indian public, and we shall be glad to see it enacted without further delay On the broad ground of justice it cannot be fairly withheld from the Brahmos" The *Indian Daily News* was also of the same opinion

We need hardly make other extracts from the exponents of public opinion, that opinion expressed itself most unmistakeably, and we might say with almost one accord, and supported the measure The principle on which it was based is fully consonant with the great proclamation issued in 1858, when the administration of the Empire passed from the hands of the East India Company to the Crown, and with the words contained therein that "all should equally and alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law" The judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council delivered by Lord Kingsdown in the case of *Abraham versus Abraham* upheld this principle

A clear exposition of the principle of this Bill had already been furnished in the most lucid language to the Council, by the Hon'ble Mr Stephen Still on the 19th March 1872, when the last debate on the measure took place, the opposition seemed at first so strong as to lead those present in the Council to suppose that the Bill would be rejected The Bráhmas had already waited for four years to have their marriages legalised And they would perhaps have been made to wait much longer, but for the

determination of Mr Stephen and his colleagues. Some of the Hon'ble members who opposed the measure supplemented their position with the opinions and views of some of the leading Natives in the N W Provinces, Madras, and Bombay. But the principle on which the action of the Government was based was too strong and too equitable to be upset by those views and those opinions. The Hon'ble Mr Stephen said that after having educated the Natives and dissociated them from idolatrous customs, it was the bounden duty of Government not to send them away when they asked for relief. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief supported Mr Stephen, on the ground that the Government ought to be guided in its action by the spirit of strict toleration to all creeds and sects. Thus supported, the Bill was passed by a majority of eight against a minority of five members, with the amendments moved by Mr Stephen. It would have been a blot on our rule if an estimable and enlightened section of our fellow subjects had been permitted to suffer from social disabilities from no fault of their own, other than the possession of strong religious convictions and conscientious scruples. The Marriage Bill will bear fruit in time. The 19th of March 1872, will be a memorable day in the history of Indian legislation.

ART VIII—TOPICS OF THE QUARTER.

Lord Mayo

IT devolves upon us this quarter to tell one of the saddest stories in the history of India. On the 8th of February Lord Mayo, with a select little party, arrived at the Andamans, after a visit of much interest and intended usefulness to Barmah. The object of His Excellency's visit to the Islands was a purely practical one. There had been complaints with respect to the entire system upon which the Government and constitution of the penal settlement rested. The Governor-General had resolved to see the exact fact for himself, and with this object he arrived at Port Blair, at about half-past nine on the morning of the fatal day above stated, in the *Glasgow*, the Flag Ship of Admiral Cockburn, and the work of inspection immediately began. The morning of the day was spent in looking over the convict prisons, &c, on Ross Island. This occupied an hour or two. In the afternoon His Excellency visited other parts of the Settlement, especially Viper Island, where the worst convicts are kept, and Chatham, where there are some extensive saw-mills. His Excellency then proposed, contrary to previous arrangement, to visit Hope Town, where the best convicts—the ticket-of-leave-men—reside. The party arrived at Hope Town at about half-past five, and ascended Mount Harriet, which commands a fine out-look, and with this enjoyable and enjoyed part of the proceedings, the day's inspection was to end. At the foot of Mount Harriet there is a little pier or jetty running out into the sea, and at the end of it the crew of the *Glasgow's* launch were sitting, chatting, and waiting for the Viceroy, who went slowly along the pier, surrounded by a little group of friends. By this time it was quite dark, and the attendants—convicts—carried torches. A very few yards down the pier General Stewart, who was in command, turned to give some direction to an overseer, and at that moment, quick as lightning, a man sprang through the gap, fastened like a tiger, one eye-witness says, on the back of the Viceroy, and inflicted two deadly wounds. It was the work of an instant. His Excellency stumbled or leaped into the water. The torches were extinguished in the excitement, but happily the assassin, with all the advantages of darkness and of the hill on the back ground covered with foliage, was immediately secured. The Viceroy was removed as speedily as possible to the *Glasgow*, but before reaching the vessel he died. The assassin was found to be a life prisoner from the neighbourhood of Pesháwar, and, to all appearance, he had resolved, when first he heard of Lord Mayo's intended visit, to perpetrate the fatal deed, for which he was

executed on March 11th. The body of the Viceroy was received in Calcutta by an immense assemblage of people, comprising all classes of the population—one of the solemnest sights ever seen, perhaps we may say, in any country. This is not the time to fix Lord Mayo's place among the statesmen who have ruled India. Subjects of great importance have been matured during his Viceroyalty. He was particularly interested in foreign politics, and very soon after his arrival in India concluded a treaty with the Amir of Afghanistan for the purpose of drawing a clear line within which England would consider herself bound to interfere if invasion was threatened. His great scheme of finance, by means of which the responsibility of providing for local expenditure is thrown upon local taxation, is another measure by which he will be judged in the future. We cannot attempt to discuss these measures now. Perhaps, indeed, they could not possibly be discussed now, with the feeling of the country what it is, in view of the sad event which every Englishman in India deeply deploras. Moreover, the schemes and treaties of the time must be tried by the practical success of fitness and applicability to the end for which they were designed. But there was something in the presence and bearing of the late Viceroy that made him a power in India. People spoke of his hospitality, but it was not that which gave him the social power which no Governor of India ever possessed in a larger or more important degree. Only a few comparatively could partake of even a Viceroy's hospitality, but Lord Mayo's words addressed to chiefs, and through them, to masses of the people of India, had an influence for good which cannot easily be overrated. He succeeded in impressing upon the chiefs that the position of England in India was one of good to the country, and that while as Viceroy he would prove a terror to evil doers, he would not forget the equally high duty of being a praise to them that do well. In this spirit he addressed several bodies of chiefs last year, and they believed him. There was something in the words, in the manner, which dispelled doubt. Perhaps, indeed, throughout Indian history we never had a Viceroy who had more power by his personal presence, never one who more thoroughly inspired confidence, never one who was better "liked," never one who worked harder, or acted more completely with the single aim of doing his best according to his light and gifts in the high position to which he had been called. It is not our object to write any eulogy of Lord Mayo. The feeling evoked by his death will long outlive any words that can be written on the subject. People mourned as for a friend gone, not as for a ruler merely. They recalled his kindness, his affability, his firmness, and his perfectly unstained loyalty to Sovereign, to friend, to whomsoever he had pledged his word. And that tribute will not easily die.

Education in Bengal

Proceedings of the Senate.—Physical Science has at length taken a conspicuous place in the University Course. The scheme, as it finally came before the Senate, provided alternative courses for both the examinations. For the First Arts, the Chemistry of the Metalloids might optionally be substituted for Psychology. For the B. A. degree a more radical change was recommended. The Literature course was to be narrowed in extent, comprising five subjects instead of the previous six, *viz*, English, a classical language, mathematics, and two out of the following three subjects—Mental Science, History, and an additional course of mathematics. The alternative course in Science comprehended four subjects, *viz*, English, Mathematics, Inorganic Chemistry, and one out of the following four—Physics, Animal Physiology, Vegetable Physiology, and Geology. A singular opinion seemed to prevail that the four subjects of the Science course must necessarily be less difficult than the five subjects of the Literature course, and it was proposed to equalise the numerical discrepancy by adding another subject. The proposal to restore Sanskrit, on the ground that Bengális who had passed in science ought to be familiar with the language by which alone the vernacular can be enriched with the necessary scientific terms, was lost on a division. A second amendment, proposing that two of the optional scientific subjects should be taken up instead of one, was withdrawn in consequence of an authoritative opinion that, with such an addition, there would be barely time to go through the course. This should have convinced the Senate of the danger of hastily widening the area of the new course. The principle of concentration had been adopted after much deliberation, and it might have been taken for granted that the Syndicate, while neglecting the trivial advantage of numerical regularity, had been careful to provide alternative courses demanding equal labour. The longer time a student has to devote to Physics or to Geology, the more complete and useful will be his knowledge of either science, if he is compelled to devote the same time to two subjects instead of to one, he runs the risk of exchanging a fruitful knowledge of his subject for a superficial acquaintance with terms. But a strong desire was manifested for 'more learning, and eventually Physical Geography was appended to the course, Mr Blanford undertaking to write a text-book on this somewhat vaguely-defined subject.

The introduction of the Chemistry of the Metalloids into the First Arts course was avowedly a compromise, and, like most compromises, it satisfied neither party. One section of the Senate regretted that science was not introduced into schools, the other wished to postpone the definite study of science until the foundations of a liberal education had been laid in the First Arts course.

It may be conjectured that the supporters of each scheme had not clearly set before themselves their agreement or their difference with the other. There are, in fact, two different (though consistent) objects in regard to scientific instruction which should be carefully distinguished. The first is, that an acquaintance with the elementary facts of Nature should form part, wherever possible, of every boy's education. This is what Mr Campbell means by Physical Geography, and what the Germans mean by *Erdkunde*. Professor Huxley describes it as "a general knowledge of the earth, what is on it, in it, and about it." He refers to such questions as the following—"What is the moon, and why does it shine?" "What is this water, and where does it run?" "What is the wind?" "What makes the waves in the sea?" "Where does this animal live, and what is the use of this plant?"—as examples of what every child ought to know, and which he would take delight in knowing. And it would, no doubt, be an unmixed blessing if we could insure to every child in India such a modicum of *Realkenntniss*. But it is absurd to ignore the present character of our educational agency. Where the schoolmasters are, in most cases, completely ignorant of the commonest physical facts, the attainment of such an ideal can exist only in the imagination of an enthusiast. It may reasonably be expected that, at some time after the next four years—and four years is no long period in the history of a University—a due supply of capable teachers will gradually be produced. Elementary facts of science may then be taught in many of our schools, and may form an integral part of the regular University course. Until then, any attempt to force the growth of scientific education in an uncongenial soil can only result in mischief.

The second object, which is clearly attainable at the present moment, is to mark off a definite scientific course for those whose tastes lead them to prefer a special to a general education. This is, in fact, precisely what the Senate has determined to do. In its present form, however, the modification seems to suggest too much science for an Arts course, and too little for a purely scientific course. We may look forward to a time, not very far distant, when it will be extended for one purpose, and contracted for another. On the one hand, we may expect to see some portion of Physical Science added to the present list of optional subjects for the degree in Arts, on the other, a more exclusively scientific course leading to the degree of Bachelor in Science.

But it is difficult to see how the introduction of Inorganic Chemistry into the First Arts Course fits in, with either scheme. In the first place, it is not the logical consequent of the *Erdkunde*, which, it may be hoped, will at some time be taught in schools. And in the second, it is a subject hardly likely to seduce boys

of sixteen into the paths of science. It seems probable, indeed, that the result of its introduction will be one of two things; either no boy will choose a course of study hampered at its outset by a subject so little attractive as Inorganic Chemistry, or having chosen it, he will find in it so little to appeal to his imagination, that he will be glad to desert it after the First Arts Examination for the pleasanter paths of literature. On both grounds, as it seems to us, it would have been better to introduce into the First Arts course some portion of Physics, say, Heat, Light, and Sound. These branches of science would not only be attractive to the student, but would also be the natural sequel to that knowledge of physical facts which future undergraduates may bring with them to the University.

Mr Campbell's Educational Orders—In his recent dealings with education in Bengal, it is fortunately possible to give Mr Campbell credit for the best intentions, and at the same time to differ from him *toto cœlo* as to the expediency of the measures by which he seeks to give effect to those intentions. His policy may be described shortly as a desire to give education a more practical turn. In describing Physical Geography as "an elementary and popular knowledge of this globe, and of the things that grow or creatures that live upon it," he seems to be repeating Professor Huxley's words, quoted above, and there is no doubt that such knowledge would be an unmixed boon if it were only attainable. Mr Campbell speaks of the liberality of the Supreme Government which puts money at his disposal, and of the narrowness of the University which will not allow him to employ that money in teaching the practical arts in his own schools. But does Mr Campbell suppose that, were the University system ever so 'flexible,' he would find no difficulty in introducing the education that he wishes into the schools of Bengal? It is true that, if he refers to land-surveying and such other 'practical arts,' the thing might be done at once, as the Engineering College will provide any number of competent teachers. But when he charged the Senate with adherence to a rigid system, he did not care to run the risk of provoking a smile by advocating the introduction into our schools of an art which may possibly be useful to one boy out of twenty, and he dwelt rather on the absence of 'practical knowledge' from the school course. The demand, no doubt, will create the supply, if the necessary time be given for its creation. Mr Campbell has, indeed, offered "special rewards to induce masters at Zillah Schools to qualify as teachers in surveying and physical geography," the latter of which he proposes to introduce into the schools generally as a first instalment of physical science. No one who knows the Bengali can

doubt that many of these schoolmasters would, under the stimulus of a "special reward," rapidly imbibe large draughts of physico-geographical facts, which they would, in all honesty, mistake for a competent acquaintance with the subject, but with our complete knowledge of the material and the machinery by which alone efficient teachers can be produced, it is easy to see that at least four years must elapse before such a result can be hoped for. But Mr Campbell, with all the vigour of a mind clear to see and strong to pursue its idea, and with all the tendency of such a mind to ignore obstacles that may prove insuperable, is impatient that the reform cannot be instituted at once. He spoke of himself as representing the greatest teaching body in Bengal, and therefore as having an implied right to overleap the restrictions imposed by the University. But there can be no doubt that Mr Campbell herein completely mistakes the relation which he bears to that body. As representing the greatest teaching body in Bengal, his opinions are entitled to the most respectful attention when he advocates them in the meetings of the University, and if he succeeds in converting the Senate to his views, it rests with that body to carry out such principles in the only effectual manner as being an institution that does not die. But when the Lieutenant-Governor—no longer as member of the Senate, but as the controller of education—resolves upon introducing a sudden and startling change into the schools or colleges of Bengal, he can only do so at the price of severing their connexion with the University. So long as the colleges and schools are affiliated, or can send candidates, to the University, Mr Campbell can interfere with the course of study prescribed by the University, not one jot more than any zamindar who maintains a school. An example will make our meaning plain. The holders of junior-grade scholarships, whom Mr Campbell will henceforth excuse from attending the logic and the Sanskrit classes, are borne, it is true, on the books of a college; but they can no longer be said to be members of a University whose examinations they are not intended to pass. Mr Bayley rightly refused to entertain the suggestion that a Lieutenant Governor, whose term of office was limited to five years, should have it in his power to revolutionise a system of education, and to set up another to be in its turn overthrown by his successor. The University lays claim to authority, partly because it is permanent, and able to provide for the people committed to its care a consistent and uniform education,* and partly because it represents the opinions of men of different views and of varied experience; competent, therefore, to extract what is valuable from the views of Sir W. Muir, no less than from those of Mr Campbell. And Mr. Campbell can hardly expect to prepossess the Senate in his favour by first making, or threatening to make, a series of sweeping

changes, and afterwards complaining that he finds himself hampered by the obstructiveness of the Senate

In order to justify our dissent from Mr Campbell's policy, it is necessary to review his educational orders somewhat in detail. In the Preliminary Budget Orders, dated 9th January 1872, it was stated that "beyond the obligation to deal justly with the funds at its disposal, the Government is far from wishing to discourage English education. The Lieutenant-Governor wishes to deal tenderly with existing institutions, and would not cut them down in a sudden and injurious manner." The abolition of the College Department at Barhampur had already for some months been decided on, that college, therefore, must be excluded from the "gradual" reductions that the Lieutenant-Governor must be supposed to have had in contemplation. But, since the issue of the preliminary orders the following changes have been sanctioned. In the Sanskrit College the English classes have been abolished, and the chair of *Smṛiti*, or Hindu Code Law, has shared the same fate. The English classes were ordered to be transferred to the Presidency College, already full to overflowing, the effect of which was that the principal of the Sanskrit College, whose sole duty had been to teach English, found himself with no duties to perform. About the middle of March, the Principal of the Krishnagar College was informed that the B A classes (consisting of third and fourth-year students) must be given up at once, the students being allowed to transfer themselves to any other College. Within a day or two of this order, the Lieutenant-Governor, having observed at the annual Convocation that none of the graduates from Patna College were Biharis, notified that he did not intend to keep up a College in Bihar for the benefit of Bengali immigrants, the degree classes were therefore abolished. In all these 'abolitions' the most important fact to be noticed is that they were decided on within ten weeks of the time when the Lieutenant-Governor had expressly declared that existing institutions were not to be cut down "in a sudden and injurious manner." Sudden, the changes are admitted to be, and that in some at least of their results they are injurious, is no less clear. The Krishnagar College is the pride of the landholders of Naddea. It is a noble building, standing in a compound of over 40 acres in extent. For a very large proportion of the cost of its construction, and for the gift of half the ground in which it stands, the College is indebted to the liberality of the zamindars of the district. "In consideration of the liberality thus manifested"—we quote from the *Calcutta University Calendar*—"a donor of Rs 1,000 is allowed to place a boy, free of expense, at the College in perpetuity, and another for every Rs 500 additional he may have subscribed."

The relations, indeed, which bind the inhabitants of Naddea to their College are peculiarly close and intimate. Their interest in it has been constantly strengthened by the brilliant success which the College has, especially of late years, achieved in the University examinations,—a success which, with the single exception of the Presidency College, is quite unrivalled throughout Bengal. Little wonder, then, that Mr Campbell's action should excite the strongest opposition and discontent. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* significantly points out that the Lieutenant-Governor is now doing precisely what the Secretary of State last year virtually forbade the Supreme Government to do. The Government of India disclaimed the policy of discouraging English education, and the Secretary of State expressed his gratification that no such desire existed. Mr Campbell also declares that he is "anxious in every way to encourage English," but it may be conjectured that the Duke of Argyll would hardly accept Mr Campbell's interpretation of encouragement.

There can be little doubt also that the rough usage to which Sanskrit has lately been subjected in Bengal would find no support in England. Europe indeed is recognising, more and more clearly every day, the value of this particular study,* and the necessity of giving it vitality, and in Europe it would, we think, be simply discredited—until surprise gave way to indignation—that a ruler in India should permit himself to manifest bitter opposition to its study. Wherever else Sanskrit learning may exist, it seems a common-place to say that it ought to be at home in India. That we are likely to see a very different result cannot but be matter for the gravest regret.

The serious evils that must sooner or later make themselves felt if the study of Sanskrit in this country be discouraged, have been so fully discussed in the pages of this *Review*, as well as in other journals both Indian and English, that it savours of wearisome repetition to recur to them. Such a policy is no less clearly opposed to the Educational Despatch of 1854, and to the principles which are still supposed in England to govern Indian education. The immediate result of Mr Campbell's action is to alienate a body of men important in numbers and character, those, namely, who look back upon the past with reverent affection, and who shrink from all this modern restlessness as tending to produce a generation united by no ties of admiration or sympathy with that marvellous literature* which enshrines all that is heroic and wise in their history. Such men he alienates, not necessarily

* In a letter from Cambridge which we have just seen, it is stated on very good authority that, in the Classical Tripos of this year, a fair acquaint-

tance with Sanskrit was made almost a *sine quâ non* for the attainment of the highest honours.

by his measures, but by the manner in which he gives effect to those measures. The moral evil would be less if Mr Campbell's opposition to Sanskrit were a discriminating opposition, if Sanskrit were discouraged only in order that some more profitable study might take its place. But we are compelled to believe that the Lieutenant-Governor's conviction of the inherent worthlessness of Sanskrit is so complete, that it cannot but express itself in a somewhat contemptuous form. How else shall we explain the strange mutilation in the Sanskrit College course by which the chair of *Smṛiti*, the recorded body of Hindu law, is suddenly abolished? In the Presidency and other Colleges, no doubt, some acquaintance with general Sanskrit literature is all that a liberal education demands, but the Sanskrit College is a special institution which exists for the purpose of encouraging special research, and the education which it gives should be comprehensive and complete. To cut off from the College course (with minute advantages on the financial side) a most important branch of Sanskrit study, is to diminish, so far, the necessity of its further existence. We cannot predict whether this fact will be used at any future time as a reason for abolishing the Sanskrit College, but such a result would not greatly surprise us.

Mr Campbell, in fact, cannot understand that any parent should wish his son to be taught Sanskrit. Some time since he promulgated an order that in all schools it should be optional with boys to learn Sanskrit or Bengali. The schools were polled, with what precise results we cannot say, but we believe we are within the mark in saying that the guardians of four out of every five boys declared for Sanskrit. The results, at any rate, were such as to disappoint Mr Campbell's expectations, and in one of his latest orders he requires a declaration on honour, that no "undue influence" has been used in bringing about so mischievous a result. But if parents are so wilfully blind to their own interests, that is no reason why Mr Campbell should not release those over whom he can exercise influence, from the enervating embrace of Sanskrit. Accordingly he notifies that any holder of a junior-grade scholarship "may elect to take the practical science course"—that is, the new alternative course for the First Arts Examination—"without prejudice to the tenure of his scholarship. Such a scholarship-holder must continue to attend the English language, history, arithmetic or algebra, and mathematical classes up to the First Arts standard, but he need not attend the Sanskrit and logic or moral philosophy classes, and he therefore need not pass the First Arts Examination, though the Lieutenant-Governor hopes that many will do so." Such an order as this it is difficult to describe in fitting terms. We will confine ourselves to criticising the order in two of its aspects. It is clear, in the first

place, that Mr Campbell considers Sanskrit and logic *worse* than useless. The University prescribes these two studies—and it is significant to remember that the scientific members of the Senate have, reasonably enough, insisted on logic as a necessary element in scientific education—as parts of the alternative course lately adopted. But Mr Campbell thinks them not only useless but injurious, and, without replacing them by any subjects more congenial to his own heart, he virtually orders the scholarship-holders to abstain from Sanskrit and from logic, as from an unclean thing. Mr Campbell stands alone in his opinion of the value of different branches of learning. Others have said that languages are not so useful to the growing intelligence as a knowledge of the order of nature. Mr Campbell appears to hold that the study of Sanskrit must produce a deadly blight of every mental energy. Yet we suppose Mr Campbell wishes that students of science should not only themselves possess information, but should be competent to impart it to their fellow countrymen, that they should in time write manuals of Inorganic Chemistry in Bengali as they have already written manuals of Astronomy. It is difficult to see how this can be done, until a scientific nomenclature has been created, capable of being engrafted on the actual languages of the country. It is hardly to be desired that the Greek terms of European science should be imported bodily into Bengali, and it is equally certain that Bengali itself is a language too little developed to express minute differences of chemical nomenclature. ‘Unsanskritized’ Bengali cannot cope with the differences of *protoxide* and *suboxide*, *sesquioxide* and *peroxide*, it is even less able to express the subtler distinctions implied in the terminations of *sulphurous*, *sulphide*, *sulphuric*, *sulphate*. As men of science in Europe were familiar with Latin and Greek, so it is only on the condition that men of science in India should be familiar with the structure of Sanskrit, that we can hope to see a scientific nomenclature gradually developed, by men who know on the one hand what it is that they want to express, and, on the other, the *nuances* of the language by which alone it can be expressed.

But it is to the second result of Mr Campbell’s order that we wish to draw special attention. He says, in effect, to the boys of Bengal who have passed the Entrance Examination with credit, and who have gained scholarships: “If you choose the literature course, you shall have the whole irksome drudgery to go through, but if you choose the science course I will excuse you two out of your six subjects, and you shall draw your scholarship-money without the bugbear of an impending examination to frighten you to useless exertion.” What is this but to offer a premium to idleness, already (as Mr Campbell, in other moods, would be the first to maintain) the besetting temptation of the Bengali? And does

Mr Campbell consider the danger to discipline, and the demoralising effect on the minds of other students, if a number of young men are allowed to walk out of the room as soon as a lecture begins, and to spend an hour or two in absolute idleness?

There is a further aspect of this order which must not be ignored. It can readily be conjectured how large a number of future scholarship-holders will elect the science course which Mr Campbell has made so smooth for them. It is not in the nature of the Bengali to resist so strong an inducement offered to the weakest side of his character. The consequence will be, as before pointed out, a dissociation of the teaching in the Colleges—as far as regards their most promising students—from the *curriculum* of the University. Mr Campbell has evidently never dreamed that this might be an evil, and he is determined, at all hazards, to encourage the study of Physical Science in the Colleges, in a far different sense from that in which his encouragement of English must be understood. His redistribution of the scholarship fund of Bengal affords a striking illustration of the kind of help he means to give to the new studies. How far Physical Science is meant by these new studies, and how far land-surveying, the Lieutenant-Governor's orders do not make as clear as could be wished. For instance, a sum of Rs 20,000, set apart in the grant for Colleges, is described in one order as devoted to "surveying classes," in a later order to "Physical Science classes." Similarly, a sum of Rs 30,000 for "surveying classes" in schools is subsequently transformed into a grant for "drawing, surveying, and elementary science classes." The final resolution, however, speaks of these sums as being granted for "science and survey classes," it may therefore be presumed that both hold an equal place in the Lieutenant-Governor's regards. Now it happens that the conditions of demand and supply as regards these two subjects are inverted. In surveying the teaching power is unlimited, at least in comparison with Mr Campbell's requirements. But the demand for such instruction is strictly limited by the opportunities of its profitable investment, in other words, by the number of appointments that are open to persons possessing this knowledge. The Public Works Department of course requires a much wider range of acquirements than is to be gained in the new surveying classes, and the only prospect that the pupils can look forward to is employment under Mr Campbell's new scheme of Sub-divisional Establishments, which makes provision for 100 kanungos and junior kanungos. The effective demand, therefore, is limited by the number of these appointments that may fall vacant year by year, which will evidently be not large. As regards science, the case is reversed. We have no means of saying what the demand for scientific instruc-

tion may hereafter be, though we have no doubt it will be considerable. But this at least is certain, that the supply cannot be forthcoming for some years. And yet, though in one case the demand is insignificant, and in the other there are no means of supplying the demand, Mr. Campbell determines to encourage these incipient studies precisely as if they were enjoying the full current of popular favour. Out of a total sum of Rs. 1,28,000, which is devoted to scholarships in Bengal, he has set aside Rs 50,000 for science and survey students, and this at a time when only three surveying classes have been organised, and when not one schoolmaster in Bengal is known to possess any acquaintance with physical geography.

It is to be regretted that in all Mr Campbell's dealings with the Educational Department, he should manifest towards the officers of the Department a certain tone of irritation, fatal to harmonious action. In the Preliminary Budget orders, the Director of Public Instruction is addressed in language of such unusual strength that we think it a mistake to have allowed their publication. It would at any rate have been more satisfactory if they had been published with Mr Atkinson's reply, which brought about a large modification of the original orders, and in which, therefore, he must have satisfactorily disposed of many of the charges brought against him. In an earlier letter the professors of Mofussil Colleges were "warned" to qualify themselves for duties which, as it appeared on reconsideration, they never could by any possibility undertake. The warning was quickly withdrawn, and an invitation substituted, but it was hardly to be expected that the professors would show very great alacrity in accepting an invitation so issued. Equally to be deprecated is the groundless suspicion that schoolmasters had used "undue influence" in inducing a majority of their pupils to learn Sanskrit instead of Bengali. The Education Department seems, in Mr Campbell's eyes, to be the parent of all that is obstructive and of ill report. It is by this Department that the unmeaning term Urdu was "chiefly introduced." The unsatisfactory state of education in Bengal is due to the fact that "the entire staff of teachers have imbibed their tone from the officers of the Educational Department." It seems to us a pity that this semblance of hostility should so uniformly pervade Mr. Campbell's orders. Common prudence would suggest that nothing was to be gained by showing educational officers at every turn that the Lieutenant-Governor held them and their work, so lightly. It is fortunate that these officers commonly take a keen interest in their work, an interest quite independent of the favour with which it is regarded in high quarters, if it were otherwise, much mischief might be done by the kind of criticism which is now applied to them.

Vigorous Government

WE had hoped that before going to press the whole of the official correspondence relating to the late Kuka disturbances at Lúdhianá would have been published, with the orders of the Supreme Government in the case, we should then have been able to review it impartially, and express without hesitation the opinion we might have formed. We cannot do so now, but so much has been written on the subject in the newspapers, such unhesitating approval has been expressed by some journals in support of what they call "vigour," that we cannot pass without notice, what has certainly been one of the most prominent "topics" of the last quarter. We feel that in making the following remarks, we are in no way prejudging Mr Cowan —

Stript of the exaggerations of both friend and foe, the case against that officer stands thus — He caused 49 men to be put to death without any legal warrant for his act, such a proceeding by a British officer is of the very gravest importance, and can only be justified by the clearest proof of its necessity, that is, that the officer had before him evidence sufficient to convince any reasonable man, that unless he acted as he did far greater evils would result. The one side allege that Mr Cowan had no such evidence, the other side maintain that he had, the Supreme Government has marked its sense of the gravity of the act by suspending him until he has submitted a report justifying his conduct. Until this report is published, we cannot say what evidence was before Mr Cowan, and therefore we can neither acquit nor condemn him, a portion of the press, whilst warning us that it is unfair to condemn him until we have heard his defence, loudly applaud him on the evidence afforded by the accounts already published. They should remember that if they applaud him on this evidence, their opponents have at least an equal right to condemn him on it.

But a very large portion of Mr Cowan's supporters rest their defence of him on much wider grounds than this. They treat the question of the amount of evidence in this particular case as one of trifling importance, they say generally, with reference to disturbances like those at Lúdhianá "that this sort of thing must be put down." We must not shilly-shally about legal technicalities, we must act with "vigour," we must strike terror into all malcontents by allowing, or even encouraging, the district officers to order to instant execution the very first band that attempts to disturb the public peace. As this expression of a general policy in no way affects the particular case of Mr Cowan, we have no hesitation in examining it at length.

Firstly, what is the sort of thing that must be put down? We shall be told, disturbances by fanatics in general and by Kukas in particular. Before we consider how these disturbances are to be

put down, let us consider who the Kukas really are. The task is not difficult, for their position is thoroughly well known. They aim at reforming their own religion, and stand as regards the Sikhs in much the same position as Wahhábis to the Muhammadans—that is in minor points, for in the main point of difference between the orthodox and the reformers there is no resemblance whatever. Our readers are doubtless aware that the Sikhs believe that the line of their Gúrus, or spiritual heads, has long since ceased, the Kúkas believe that their leader Ram Singh is himself a Gúru. It is known that the sect originated in a true desire for the reform of the national religion and had nothing to do with any political motives.

These are still the views of Ram Singh, the utmost we have heard against him is that he must have been cognisant of the designs of some of his followers, and that he has made no real efforts to restrain them.

Meantime the sect has increased in numbers, but the very largest computation gives it only three lakhs of members. It is indeed thoroughly well organized, but we may safely say that if we were to hand over the Panjab to the Kukas to-morrow, they could not maintain their ascendancy for a single week. Yet it by no means follows that they are powerless for mischief, the position of all new creeds in the East is much the same, they originate with true men whose sole aim is the remedy of existing corruption, they are joined by others whose aim is equally praiseworthy, but whose zeal is dangerous, their object is good, and to attain it, they would not shrink from violence, by the energy and sincerity of these men, numbers are converted, whose almost sole belief is a profound faith in the inspiration of their prophets, and who are incapable of reasoning on any point in which this faith is concerned. The number of converts of this class at length reaches its limit and so does the patience of the more zealous of the leaders. They have not the safety-valves enjoyed by their more civilised brethren in England, there we see the leaders of the different sects all equally in earnest, demonstrating violently to crowded audiences that the reform of the world—nay even the salvation of the souls of its inhabitants—depends entirely on its conversion to the particular “ism” of the speaker. A bystander would expect the whole meeting to rush to arms in support of its principles, it is said that they did so in the middle ages, when the state of civilisation was not unlike that of India now, but in the present day we find them all disperse quietly to their dinners, and an hour hence, one listening to their conversation would scarcely suppose they had any views at all.

Far different is it in the East, here, although by law the right of meeting is as fully recognised as in England, there are few

up-country districts where a "vigorous" official would allow it to be openly enjoyed—at any rate the exercise of the right is scarcely attempted, the whole of the proceedings of the sect are conducted almost in secret, and this very fact tends much to increase the influence of the second-rate and more violent men. Passing from place to place they keep up the zeal of the mass of their followers with ridiculous rumours of the approach of the "day of salvation," and support their assertion with a still more ridiculous reference to "signs from heaven." A republic that has for years tolerated the nonsense of Dr Cumming, should not be too hard on these dupes. But a fanaticism which is harmless in England, in India is most dangerous, the sect becomes like a train of powder which the slightest spark may explode. In vain do the old leaders express their disapproval, their subordinates are past control, they know that unless a "sign" is given their influence must decay, and often no doubt they have talked themselves into a state which renders reasoning impossible. They may honestly believe that "the Lord is on their side," the result of this belief has been the same from the time of the Apostles down to the outbreak at Lúdhiana. Then "false Christs" lead hundreds out into the wilderness to perish of hunger, now "false gúrús" lead their dupes to be blown from the guns. Between the two periods countless similar outbreaks have occurred, and if they have not in all cases proved disastrous failures, their success has been like that of the man who "drew a bow at a venture," and has been due to no merit in the attempt. If any Government has collapsed under the blow, it has been because it was so utterly rotten that even such a blow could overthrow it. Is the British Government in India of this nature?

But we have no hesitation in admitting that an outbreak even of a few fanatics is a thing that should be put down as far as possible. The question is, what are the best means for this purpose? The party of "vigour" have no hesitation in answering, "crush it," "stamp it out," "string up" all the men you catch, "string up" Ram Singh and all his lieutenants, or at any rate transport them, "turn all Kukas out of Government employ, and shave their heads." To these men a reference to the sanctity of human life is a "canting sentimentalism," at any rate when the life in question is the life of an opponent, so we will say nothing about the humanity of their policy. We will argue the matter as if the life of a Kuka were of no more importance than that of a dog, or even of a cabbage. We simply ask, "what do you expect from this policy?" You know that unless it is "thorough," it *must* fail. Dare you make it thorough? Can you extirpate the Kukas? Dare you even attempt to do so? You know you dare not, if you did you would most certainly be hanged, if not in India, at least as soon as you arrived in England, if Ram Singh has been guilty of any crime,

let him be tried by law for that crime. You dare not execute him or transport him for merely "political reasons," nor can you imprison him for life on this charge, he must be released sooner or later, he will then return in triumph, nor will the sack of his home make him better disposed towards the Government. Assuming the execution of the more humble prisoners was not an act of absolute necessity, what have you gained by it? You say you have completely "cowed" the Kukas. You have merely stunned them for the moment. You have diminished their numbers by about 100 men, and have captured some of their leaders, you have also caused the lukewarm and time-servers to abandon their creed. When they see that you dare do nothing more, how long will it be before new leaders arise, and the sect recovers its spirit? We say you dare do no more, for you cannot make the mere fact of being a Kuka penal, or pass exceptional laws against the sect. Supposing you did dare to do so and that you succeeded in putting down the Kukas, in what respect have you gained? The fire of fanaticism will only break out in some other direction.

We cannot see that there is anything to gain by this policy of "vigour." On the other hand there is much to lose. By a petty persecution against the sect generally, you merely render it more fanatical and entirely crush the influence of those of its members who are well affected to the British Government, by wholesale and illegal executions you make martyrs of petty criminals. You render it certain that if another outbreak occurs, the rioters will commit the wildest excesses from sheer desperation, and that they will never again quietly surrender to a few armed men. In addition to its effect on the sect persecuted, what is the effect of your policy on the people at large? First of all on the non-Kuka relatives of the men executed? They looked on them as foolish heretics, and would have considered that it only served them rightly if their folly brought on them the chastisement of the law. Now they look on them as cruelly butchered. That they should do so is natural, for we should do so ourselves under similar circumstances, supposing relatives of our own joined the Society of Jesuits and made a frantic attempt to seize Edinburgh and establish the Inquisition, we should by no means regret to see their zeal cooled by a little wholesome correction, but if they were executed without trial, we should entirely overlook their faults and rave against the Government.

On the people at large the effect is equally disastrous. As a rule they thoroughly detested the Kukas, now they are beginning to look on them as national martyrs. No doubt many native sycophants applaud the "vigour" loudly. Some few may even really approve of it, but we are convinced (and all our enquiries confirm this conviction,) that it is viewed by them as a rule with the strong-

est disapproval It has given Englishmen an opportunity of using the hateful talk about "a conquered country," a "ruling by the sword," which does so much to widen the gulf between the two classes. It has given natives the opportunity of saying that whilst we cant in Council about our desire to apply to India those maxims of government which have proved good elsewhere, we in our hearts desire to rule them in a way which in Europe we are loudest in denouncing as detestable

We have expressed our disapproval of the policy of "vigour" What do we advocate in its place? We answer, a thoroughly impartial administration of the law, and a most careful avoidance of anything like a religious or political persecution. Magistrates of districts should get the best information they can of the movements of Kukas or any other fanatics, but they should let them clearly understand that as long as they refrained from breaking the law, they would be as much entitled to its protection as any other members of the community If they were convicted of breaking it, they must pay the penalty A so-called "political" offence is merely an offence punishable under a certain section of the Penal Code, persons accused under that section are entitled to as fair trials as persons accused under any other section, and their punishment should be regulated by precisely the same considerations. Thus of two men convicted of "levying war against the Queen," one might be a dangerous ringleader against whom a sentence of death might justly be carried out, the other might be a wretched dupe for whom a short imprisonment would be ample punishment. The party of "vigour" say we are not strong enough to shew such leniency, and therefore they shout "Death to the rebel and mutineer" without distinction They rely on their boasted sword, but have a very uncomfortable feeling that it may at any time break sharp off at the hilt We prefer to rely on a policy which we should not be ashamed to own before an English audience. It is a firm and impartial administration of the law, and a firm resolve that nothing but the most absolute necessity shall induce us to set it aside

The Orthography of Indian Proper Names

ON the 28th February 1870, the Government of India authorised the adoption of a uniform system of spelling for the Gazetteers and Maps now being prepared by the Statistical Department. The system originated with Dr Hunter, and is explained by him as founded on "the principles of transliteration advocated by Sir Wilham Jones a hundred years ago, but modified so as to suit the exigencies of cartography, and to make allowance for that considerable class of Indian places which have by lapse of time obtained a historical or popular spelling too firmly fixed to be

new wholly changed." During the last two years the system has been creeping gradually into popular favour and general use, and has been during the past quarter the subject of criticism and controversy in most of the journals of northern India. Public opinion, whilst it is by no means decided as to the intrinsic merits of the particular system thus authoritatively promulgated, appears to be unanimous in demanding *some* reform, and one that should be in the direction of uniformity. Whilst, however, nearly all writers deplore the present chaotic dispensation, it appears to us that comparatively few fully appreciate the difficulties that lie in the way of the introduction of any method that may have a fair chance of becoming really general in its use. Too many, underrating these difficulties, are inclined to be bigoted in the support of their own opinions, to be captious about minor points of detail, and critical about minute inaccuracies and small evils in the system which has been put forward.

We propose to devote a few lines, to point out some of the advantages of the new system, and at the same time to indicate some points in which we regard it as defective. As the best proof of our own impartiality in the matter, we wish distinctly to state that, whilst we shall be glad to see the system authoritatively modified in any or all of those portions against which we are about to raise objections, it is our full intention in any case loyally to follow it in its entirety in the pages of this Review. We are of those who believe that, in matters of orthography, uniformity is of far more importance than the attainment of any ideal perfection of detail*. We shall briefly consider the advantages and disadvantages of the system (1) with reference to its adoption of the Jonesian (or, which is practically the same, the Wilsonian) method of transliteration, (2) with reference to the modifications of that method said to be necessitated by reasons of expediency.

We would premise, however, that, apart from all considerations of the intrinsic excellence of the system itself, the most powerful argument for its adoption is to be found in the fact, that the machinery which has been devised for facilitating its use in practice, and the large following that has already been secured for it, offer the most reasonable hopes of its ultimate establishment in general acceptance. In the first place, it is the only system which can boast of an authorised and extensive list of geographical names spelt in the way which is sanctioned by it. This most important advantage it owes to the zeal and industry of Dr. Hunter, who has recently issued (at the request, we presume, of the Postal authorities) a *Guide to the Orthography of Indian*

* In articles signed by the authors, in all other cases, the Editor will undertake to secure this uniformity as will be left to their discretion, but* far as he is able.

Proper Names, with a list showing the true spelling of all Post towns and villages in India This list consists of four parallel columns, showing—*first*, the name as now spelt in the Postal Guide, *secondly*, the accurate transliteration from the vernacular character on the Wilsonian system, *thirdly*, the name as spelt in Keith Johnston's Royal Atlas, *fourthly*, the "practical spelling to be adopted by Government," *i.e.*, the authorised spelling under the new system. Here we get the full necessary particulars regarding the spelling of the names of no less than 2,186 places, and it is at once obvious that an immense step towards uniformity has been made by the publication of such a list. Again, the support which the system has already received is most important. The Government of India has adopted it, so have several of the local Governments (those of the Panjáb and Bombay have within the last few days issued the most peremptory orders to this effect, accompanied by a list of the chief towns and villages in the provinces), so have the Post Office, the Telegraph Department, the Surveys. Dr Keith Johnston in his new map of India for the Royal Atlas, and Mr John Murray in his *Travellers' popular Handbook for India*, adopt the system. The scientific Societies and the University of Calcutta already use the Wilsonian system of transliteration in its entirety. The leading newspaper in each of the following provinces,—Bengal, the North-West, the Central Provinces, the Panjab,—follow the system with more or less strictness. On these points Dr Hunter wisely says, in his *Guide* —

If the system is to take lasting root, it must be the product of a natural growth, not a hot-house plant called into existence by Government forcing. The public must be persuaded, not compelled. But I am satisfied that the system has right reason on its side, and that, aided by patient watching and by the official machinery indicated above, right reason will in this case prevail.

Now that the works of the learned Societies, the popular newspapers, the "Post Office Guide," and the postal dies, the Telegraph Department's lists of stations, the Gazetteers and the revised survey maps, and most of the official Gazettes, will all exhibit a uniform (or nearly uniform) orthography it seems certain that, the same name being nearly everywhere presented in the same spelling, the popular eye will be unconsciously and rapidly educated to adopt it.

Returning to the division of our subject indicated above, under the first head, we believe that the wisdom of the course which has been adopted is fully established by the consideration that the whole world of European and American scholars and orientlists has already firmly and finally adopted the Wilsonian system, and it seems to us that it would be a grievous folly if, whilst we

are attempting a great and salutary revolution for the sake of uniformity amongst Indian writers, we were to put ourselves into direct opposition to the established opinions and usages of scientific writers throughout the world. Dr Hunter has well and fairly stated the case from this point of view, between the rival systems of Professor Wilson (or Sir W Jones) and Dr Gilchrist —

The popular spelling of Indian names is at present based on no uniform system whatever. Eighty years ago Sir William Jones published his system of transliterating Indian names upon the continental mode of rendering the vowel sounds. This system represents the Indian *i*, as in *police*, *ravine*, by *e*, the soft *u* sounds as in *rude* or *bull* by *u*, and so forth. On the other hand, Dr Gilchrist published a system which, by the free use of double letters, endeavours to render the phonetic value of the Indian vowels more apparent to the uneducated English eye. Thus the above two vowels would be rendered not by the Italian *i* and *u*, but as *ee* and *oo*. For three-quarters of a century one set of Englishmen has been writing and printing Indian names on the first system, while another set has been using the second, and the confusion has been increased by passing travellers, mariners, and railway engineers, who have used no system whatever, but spelt the names of places which they came across in any loose fashion that struck their fancy, or roughly represented the sound to their untrained ear. It is clear, therefore, that whatever system of spelling the Government may adopt, it must make up its mind to encounter the opposition of those who have been accustomed to spell in the other mode. The Scientific Societies and the whole body of European scholars have decided in favour of the system of Sir William Jones, which is simply the system pursued by the general commonwealth of European nations. On the other hand, the local public seems to prefer Dr Gilchrist's mode of transliteration, and with one or two exceptions the Anglo Indian press adopts it,* yet one system or another must be adopted. For, in addition to the names transliterated upon these recognised systems, there is a vast number of Indian places, towns, &c, spelt on no plan whatever. The choice practically lies between encountering a loud local opposition, or placing the Government's *imprimatur* upon a system universally condemned by the Asiatic Societies, and by the whole body of European scholars. The subject has presented itself in a variety of shapes for many years, and in 1868 the Government wisely determined to face the temporary local criticism, rather than to subject itself to the permanent strictures of those who are most competent to pronounce in the matter, and whose decision will sooner or later become public opinion."

In adopting Sir William Jones' method, an important and, as we think, a wise concession has been made to the exigencies of typography and map-making by the rejection of all diacritical marks for the consonants, the only exception which was

* This was written in 1869. Things have now changed.

would have been inclined to make would have been in the case of the nasal (\bar{n}), which is hardly adequately represented by n . Of course this concession, like all other compromises, injures the symmetry of the scheme, but it would have been a hopeless task to attempt to introduce into popular and general use a system involving the continual use of hosts of t 's, d 's, n 's, s 's, &c., some dotted and others undotted, some accented and others unaccented, besides, a new element of possible error would have been introduced into all our printers' proofs, and the insertion of accents, dots, &c., in a map is a matter of considerable nicety.

The two points in the Wilsonian system of transliteration which have been most obnoxious to the criticism of the adherents of the so-called "popular" system of Dr Gilchrist, are (1) the use of a to indicate the *Urvocal* or "original" vowel, and (2) the use of accented vowels instead of double letters. They object to the first, because uneducated Englishmen sometime pronounce the a as if it were \acute{a} or ah , and to the second, because it is alleged that printers' devils misplace the accents. These two objections have been fairly answered in a letter to the *Indian Observer* of February 24, 1872, from which we will take the following extract —

With regard to the first I would ask if you do not-adopt a , what other symbol will you adopt? I take it for granted that uniformity is necessary. The difficulty is that, as this sound (the 'reed sound' of the human voice) appears to be fundamentally present in all the vowel-sounds, so all the vowel-sounds in their turn have a tendency to degenerate into it, and, consequently, the temptation is very great, in random transliteration, to neglect uniformity, and select any vowel which may be suggested by the analogy of some well known word. Thus in Elphinstone I find in *one* page every one of the five English vowels used successively to indicate this sound, at page 225 I find *Saras-watí, Menu, Bramins, Mahometan, Jumna* (for *Yamuná* or Dr Hunter's *Jamná*)! In Marshman also at pp. 81, 33, 36, I find all the vowels similarly impressed, in *Nagarooté, Brahmin, Mahomed, Sutlege*. Mr Marshman, following what I believe is sometimes called the popular system, is in other parts almost pedantic in his use of u for this purpose, but I think no more powerful argument against this usage is needed, than a list of a few of the absurdities to which it leads him—such as *Himalayu, Mugudu, Ramu, Swu, Dunduku, Goutumu, Ravanu*. Moreover, as I have shown above, he is not consistent, and this inconsistency is most evident and most pernicious in such words as *Madura* (p 21) where the u is the Wilsonian u . It seems to me impossible to get over the difficulty that, if you use u for this philological a , you have no symbols whereby you can indicate our u and \acute{u} , as the double o must be appropriated to one of these. And the difficulty presented by the absurd appearance of u as a final letter appears to me scarcely less insuperable, whereas the a in this critical position is always pro-

nounced by Englishmen with a fair approximation to accuracy I am very fearful of really deserving the charge of pedantry with which you appear inclined to threaten the would be reformers of Anglo-Indian transliteration, or I would lay more stress on one further consideration—*viz*, that unless we get absolute uniformity, all our transliterations will be not only absolutely valueless, but actually so many *pierres d'achoppement* to European students of comparative philology—to whom, moreover, the *a* as a symbol of the *Urvocal* is perfectly intelligible under the Wilsonian system. Permit me to remind you when you poke fun at us about “not making sufficient allowance for the weaknesses of our less learned countrymen,” that the number of uneducated Anglo-Indian readers is infinitesimal, when compared with the number of uneducated readers of a vernacular language in any country of the world, and I venture to think that any man of average intelligence will quickly learn that the *a* in Anglo-Indian names is the *a* in “woman,” “rural,” and not the broad *a* in “calm,” or the short *a* in “Sam.”

Turning to the second point, your objection to the accented vowels, it seems to me that you (in common with most other writers on your side of the question) are inclined to overestimate the difficulties of printing them, and are forgetful of the fact that, in the type, the accents are cast with, and form a part of, the letters to which they are attached, and consequently *cannot* be “shot down on the wrong vowels,” at the sweet wills of the printers’ devils. To a compositor, an accented *a* is as different from an unaccented one as either is from any other letter, nor are they in any way more likely to be misprinted one for the other. The only printing difficulties that strike me as worthy of notice are—(1) press readers and authors, until they get accustomed to it, will find the work of correcting proof sheets a little more difficult, merely because a new element of *possible* inaccuracy has been introduced, and (2) presses will have to be furnished with as many new sets of type for every fount, as there are new (*æ*, accented) letters. And I think that sufficient concession has been made to these difficulties by giving up all diacritical marks for the consonants, provided that, for other reasons, accented vowels are really preferable to the double letters. These other reasons are matters of detail into which I cannot enter fully here, I will merely suggest one or two. In the first place, I cannot help thinking that the double letters have an ugly and unsymmetrical appearance, but this is of course merely a matter of taste. In the second place, a far more important consideration is the fact that the accented vowels occupy much less space, and are consequently invaluable for cartographic purposes. In the third place, I do not think you can adequately represent the Wilsonian *u*, if *oo* represent *û* and *u* be used for the philological *u*, I do not think *s* can be adequately represented (unless it be a final, by *y*) if *ee* represent *t*—for neither *s* (on the analogy of the *es*) nor *s* can perform that function.”

We now turn to the second division of our subject, *viz*, the open departures from the Wilsonian method which have been sanctioned by the Government on the authority of Dr Hunter. These of course are peculiar to this system, and make it essen-

tially a new method. The necessity for such modifications arises from two causes—English usage, and native local variations in usage, each of which we will consider separately.

The most important of these causes (though it affects a far smaller number of names of towns than are affected by the second cause) is the fact that popular English usage has given a certain fixity to the spelling of the names of some two hundred towns and districts in India. Thus, it would be obviously absurd and pedantic to a degree to alter a single letter of the names of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, or Calcutta. On the other hand, it is perfectly practicable to alter *Punjab* into *Panjāb*, for the name of the province is already spelt in both ways, and we may as well adopt the correct method where we have a choice. But the difficulty is, where are we to draw the line? We will quote Dr Hunter's answer to this question —

There is a large class of more doubtful cases, such as Roy Bareilly, Lucknow, and Cawnpoor. The first of these names furnishes a type of a numerous family in which Keith Johnston's Royal Atlas comes to our aid. The old Anglo Indian form was Roy Bareilly, the mode to which Dr Keith Johnston's map has given popular fixity in England is Rai Bareilli, and from this the change to the correct form, namely, Rai Bareli, is so slight that I have not hesitated to make it. On the other hand, the word Lucknow being the capital of a Province, and having obtained a historical fixity of spelling from the events of the Mutiny,* I have not ventured to alter it into the correct form Lakhnau or any modification of it, although Dr Keith Johnston deemed this practicable. The third of the above examples, Cawnpur, is also a representative word. Its spelling in the vernacular is variously returned as Khānpur and Kānpur, (the latter being a contraction of Kānhāipur, meaning Kishnapur). Dr Keith Johnston gives in his map the two forms—Kanhpur and Cawnpur. I have not ventured to go further than the latter form. In the same way with regard to a large class of words such as Lahore, Mysore (Maisūrū), Vellore (Vellūrū), &c., I have confined myself to striking out the final *e* which would, according to the now authorised orthography, be sounded, and have spelt the words Lahor, Mysor, Vellor. Throughout I have most carefully avoided anything like the destruction of the identity of the word by a change in the spelling."

In many names which have been thus "screwed up a little towards the pitch of scientific accuracy" by Dr Hunter, we cannot but regard the result as deplorably unsymmetrical, and even hideous. Even if compromises of this sort be at all admissible—and we are compelled to admit that they probably are made necessary

* We regret to observe that Dr Hunter must have altered his mind after writing this, for he now spells the word *Lacknow*. This is a dread

ful hash, if we have the *a* in the first syllable, the combinations *ok* and *ow* are outrageous.

sometimes by local prejudice,—for Dr Hunter has evidently struggled hard to establish something like accuracy in his list—we would strongly urge that (except in the four firmly fixed spellings mentioned above) all forms like *ck* and *ow* and the use of *c* for *k*, which actually outrage the very fundamental principles of the system, should be rejected. For instance, *Lacknow* appears to us to be utterly incomprehensible, if we pronounce it according to the old English system, it will be *Lack-now*, if we attempt to pronounce it according to the Wilsonian method, we shall be puzzled by the *ck* and the *ow*, but will probably hit upon *Luck-nō*, and in either case we shall be wrong. For our own part we should be glad to see the word written *Lakhnau*, which every educated man would know how to pronounce, at the same time we are prepared to yield to the force of Dr Hunter's own arguments quoted above, wherein he shows that it is historically fixed as *Lucknow*, but we protest against *Lacknow*. *Cattack* is, we think, even more reprehensible, for it is difficult to see that any historical fixity can be claimed for *Cuttack*, which form, moreover, is invariably mispronounced by the accent being placed on the second syllable, whilst we fancy that few who are concerned with the spelling at all, would be exercised by the right spelling *Katak*.

The above are the only points whereon we shall venture to question Dr Hunter's good judgment. In the numerous difficulties which have presented themselves, by the local and dialectic variations in usage with regard to the spelling of the names of the same place, his decisions appear to us to have been for the most part highly judicious. The multiform vernaculars of India not only differ widely in their written character, they also exhibit a most perplexing series of vowel and consonant changes and of terminal variations. With regard to the terminal variations, we will quote a paragraph from Dr Hunter's note which will at once serve to illustrate the difficulty of the point, and to give a fair sample of the judicious treatment of which we have spoken —

Cases constantly occur in which the transliterator has to decide between the uniform philological spelling of the word and its conflicting local variations. With regard to *grām*, I have found it necessary to follow local usage, so that it appears in the following list as *grām*, *gāon*, *gām*, and *gān*. With regard to the second great terminal affix *pur*, I have uniformly spelt it with a short *u* as *pur*†. A third common affix, *nagar*, town, which Anglo Indians have hitherto variably spelt as *nagar*, *nagore*, *naggur*, *nuggur*, *nugfore*, &c., is here uniformly spelt

† Dr Hunter elsewhere notes that this is written with a long *u* in Urdu, with a short *u* in Bengali, and either with a long or short *u* in Sanskrit and some of its descended languages

It also takes the feminine form *purī* and in South India it becomes *puru*, besides several Anglo-Indian forms, such as *pore* and *poor*.

nagar A fourth, *shahr*, city, has enjoyed an even wider range of orthography, but is here invariably spelt *shahr*

Dr Hunter admits that a protracted intricate discussion might be raised about each one of at least fourteen hundred names amongst the 2,186 post towns, on the spelling of which he has had to decide. Such discussions would probably be useless in most cases, and in all, only satisfactory to the advocates of the form finally adopted. We are grateful to the Government, and to Dr Hunter, for what has been here done for us in rendering possible a generally uniform method of orthography, and whilst we hope to see some further improvements worked out in the details of the scheme, we trust that we shall before long see it universally used by all Anglo-Indian writers.

Bengal Municipalities' Bill, 1872

NEXT to the District Road Cess Act, this is the most important measure which has come before the Bengal Council since Mr Campbell became our Lieutenant-Governor. The statement of objects and reasons given at the end of the draft of the bill makes out that consolidation of the various enactments under which municipalities are at present administered is the chief object of the proposed alteration of the law. In this case at least consolidation seems a very doubtful advantage, at present there is one law for budding municipalities, and another for full blown ones, and the new Act of 234 sections is intended to take the place of several short and distinct laws which are now beginning to be fairly understood. The provisions of the new act will doubtless soon be mastered by the official members of local committees, but they will certainly present many difficulties to the members of *panchayats* and to the public, to whom this everlasting flux in the law is a standing source of amazement and perplexity. Consolidation, however, is clearly a pretext, and not a reason in the present instance, and one of the most pressing motives for the change in the law is to fit municipalities for new burthens to which they have hitherto been strangers. The attention of the Bengal Government appears to be at present fixed upon devising means to raise money for mass education, already the colleges of Barhampur, Krishnagar, and Patna, have been abolished, and we believe that a commission appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor is at present engaged upon the elaboration of a plan for the reduction of *zillah* schools. The new municipal bill appears to be framed with a view to this avowed educational policy of Government, it proposes to give the Lieutenant-Governor the power of forcing municipalities, under certain circumstances, to provide within their limits elementary education, and also allows municipalities

to support those zillah schools from which it is apparently the intention of Government to withdraw the grants-in-aid by which they are now partly maintained. It is also proposed to burthen municipalities with a share of the expenses incurred under the new District Road Cess Act, and in order to meet the charges for these new objects of expenditure, it is proposed to permit municipalities to impose fresh taxes within their limits. The Bengal Government will of course attempt to shield itself behind the municipal commissioners from the public odium which the new taxes will be met with, and will say that the imposition of the taxes rests with the municipalities, and that it is optional with the commissioners to raise as much or as little as they please. But this plea will deceive no one. The existing funds of nine-tenths of the municipalities are only sufficient to cover the most necessary expenses of police and conservancy, and if some of this money is forcibly diverted by Government to other objects, it is clear that more funds must be somehow raised, and in so raising them the municipal commissioners will be only stalking horses of the Government. The voice may be the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau.

Indian Patronage

THE history of every administration in the world teaches us that purity in the bestowal of State patronage has never been attained—has never been even approached—except under the pressure of a very strong and united public opinion on the subject, nor indeed by this means (*teste* the jobbery that notoriously exists in the United States of America), except where public opinion is guided by the intelligent and cultivated classes of the community, and avowedly governed by high moral and patriotic principles. Nowhere is this political force more powerful than in England, and nowhere are State appointments made with greater care or with more scrupulous honesty and patriotism. Not dissimilar was the state of affairs under the late Prussian monarchy, and its results were apparent in the administration during the war, not only in the military department, but in every other Service of the State. It remains to be seen whether under the Empire the immense preponderance given to the *Junker* party by that war, will enable it to disregard that force to whose beneficent action it owes its aggrandisement, and the country owes its prosperity, should this unfortunately happen, the German Empire may not improbably rival, in its jobbery, the corruptions which more than anything else hastened the fall of the Empire in France. In the latter country public opinion, notwithstanding the evil influence of extreme parties like the Ultramontanes on one

side, and the Reds on the other, is hardly less pronounced, and is certainly much more vehement than in England, but it was stifled under the weight of the Imperial military despotism, which was able to give the keys of the country's honour and safety to the minions of a selfish Court.

During the early period of our rule in India, the vast patronage of the old Company was the object of continual solicitude both in Parliament and in the Cabinet, and we obtain the key to the right understanding of more than one of the many curious Parliamentary intrigues that attended the various renewals of the Charter, when we remember that whilst the Crown, the Parliament, and the country were alike envious of the close monopoly of Indian appointments by the Company, the Parliament and the people were even more jealous of the enormous accession of political power that would accrue to the executive by the absolute transfer of the whole patronage to the Crown. The happy expedient of the introduction of a system of open competition for the Civil Service, smoothed over many difficulties of this kind, and whatever may be deemed to be the demerits or the virtues of the competitive system on other points, it has undoubtedly deserved well of this country in taking away from its regulation patronage the character of being a preserve for the relations or hangers-on of a few lucky families.

Old Presidents of the Board of Control and more recent Secretaries of State, satisfied with having the disposal of the great posts—the Governor-Generalship and the other Governorships, and the fat prizes of the Army, the Law, and the Church—were well pleased to make a virtue of what was (from the force of public opinion at home) almost a necessity, and to allow the rule *distur digniori* to be applied to the selection of recruits for the regular executive and judicial appointments by the unimpeachable method of an open literary competition. By this means it seemed that all jobbery in important places must be at once and for ever extinguished, for the high and dignified posts reserved for home patronage were too much exposed to the glare of publicity to be seriously liable to any evils of this kind. Circumstances, however, which we shall detail, rendered the reform by no means so thorough as was expected. The past quarter has seen, in the publication of the correspondence between the India Office and the Government of India on the subject of the "Uncovenanted Service" Leave-rules, an exposure of a good deal of heart-burning and unseemly bickering on the subject of the right to the disposal of the surplus patronage in the first instance, and, in one or two instances, to which we shall make a brief reference presently, the uncertainty about the rights of nominees (caused mainly by the uncertainty attending their first appointment).

has caused much discontent in more than one large and important body of public servants

The circumstances, to which we alluded above, were those which caused the growth and development of many "Uncovenanted" Services in this country, separate from the regularly-constituted Civil Service. The causes of this growth may be divided under three heads, each of which we will briefly consider by itself. The *first* cause was the obvious fact that most of the subordinate posts under the Government of British India, and some of the higher posts, were better filled by natives of this country than by Englishmen, the *second* cause was that the exigencies of the public service demanded the retention in this country of a number of English military officers considerably in excess of the number ordinarily required by the army in times of peace, whose services might therefore obviously be economically utilised at such times in civil capacities, the *third* cause was that the services required by the Indian Governments from some of their officers were of a special and technical nature, and required a technical training such as could not be expected from the generality of their civil officers. Each and all of these causes have contributed to swell the numbers and the importance of the "uncovenanted" and "non-regulation" Services of India, until at the present day the aggregate of this patronage is hardly less valuable than that which belonged to the Company in the olden days, whilst the purity of its administration is for the most part guarded by none of those safeguards with which the disposal of the covenanted appointments has been hedged. As things stand at present, there seems in many cases to be no hard and fast line between those posts which are in the gift of the Secretary of State and those which are filled up by the Government of India and by the local Governments respectively, and the uncertainty which exists as to the rights of the respective nominees is an indirect consequence of this state of affairs. The correspondence to which we have referred demonstrates the urgent need of an immediate and definite settlement, and we believe that such a settlement may be best effected by mutual concessions, and by the imposition of certain tests as qualifications for appointments, to be fixed with the concurrence of all the authorities concerned.

We will first consider the case of those posts which are rightly and properly filled by natives of this country, and on this point we may at once say that we heartily concur with the reiterated declarations of the Secretary of State that Europeans should be rigidly excluded from holding such posts. When we remember the enormous disadvantages under which an Englishman labours in coming out to this country—the risks to health and even to life in a tropical climate, the severance of all home ties and the sacri-

fice of all home prospects, and the terrible expenses and the sufferings entailed by the necessity of educating his children in England and of occasionally visiting home himself in search of health—it is obvious that, in posts for which both are equally eligible we cannot hope to obtain an Englishman of a calibre equal to the native easily obtainable for the same pay. Hence in a mixed service of the kind to which we refer, if we offer a pay sufficient to attract highly qualified Englishmen, it is certain that we are paying their native colleagues at a rate considerably in excess of the market value of their services, whilst on the other hand, if the pay and conditions of service be calculated on the scale of native requirements, the English *employés* will either be utterly discontented, or (which must *ultimately*, from the laws of demand and supply, happen in any case) they will be of a calibre utterly inferior to their native colleagues. The plea which has been put forward that Government is bound to provide for the children of those Englishmen whom it has brought out to this country, is utterly untenable, or at least utterly inapplicable to this case, the obligation, if it exists, should be recognised in the treatment of the parents, and not by saddling the country with inferior public servants when a better article is easily procurable. With regard, then, to this branch of Indian patronage, it appears that it would be sufficient for the public interests if the Indian Governments were to be absolutely restricted to natives of the country in their choice of nominees, but to be perfectly free otherwise to make the best bargains they can. The Native Services should of course be treated liberally—but strictly according to native requirements only. If this programme, which appears to coincide with the wishes of the Secretary of State, be loyally carried out, we believe that the stability of the administration will be largely increased, by the extended employment of native agency, whilst its efficiency will be improved, and its cost (especially in the items of furlough and sick allowances) considerably diminished.

We come, secondly, to the consideration of the state of things which is caused by the obvious necessity and advantage of largely employing military officers in civil posts. An outlet for this cheap* supply of labour has been fittingly found in the various non-regulation provinces, where, the forms of the executive and judicial administration not being as yet stereotyped, there is not so much need as in the older Governments of a high preliminary technical training in the civil officers. Mainly on this account,

* We call this labour *cheap*, because the actual cost (for Civil service) to the country of a military officer in civil employ is only that portion of his consolidated pay which is in excess of the military pay he would draw in any case, even if he were doing nothing.

the patronage of the non-regulation provinces has been held to be at the disposal of the various Governments concerned, and not to be restricted to the Covenanted Civil Service. So far the arrangement seems a wise and even a necessary one, but numerous and serious complaints have of late been made of the way in which the patronage thus liberated has been distributed. A more or less formal engagement was formerly entered into by the Supreme Government, that the Covenanted Civil Service should have a monopoly of at least fifty per cent of these non-regulation appointments, and the question whether this engagement has been fulfilled or not has been, during the last quarter, the subject of furious correspondence in nearly all the newspapers of Northern India. The *gravamen* of the charges alleged by the covenanted civilians has been that, even in those Commissions in which their promised percentage of appointments has been given them, the percentage has often or generally been made up by a preponderance in the lower grades, and only a small share of the prizes, and that moreover the free distribution of the patronage, originally instituted merely for the useful purpose of giving employments to military officers who would otherwise be idle, has often been abused to provide for the wants of needy relatives or favourites of men in power. We have not room in this place fully to discuss the justice or injustice of these charges, which have already been disputed over in the daily and weekly press *usque ad nauseam*, but we may be allowed, without attempting to sit in judgment on the merits of the particular cases which have been set forth, to draw some practical conclusions from the general discussion. In the first place, the equity of the case seems to us clearly to demand that the promised percentage should be maintained, not only in the aggregate number of appointments in any Commission (which must be the case according to the letter of the law), but also in the aggregate emoluments, and the latter condition can only be fulfilled if the percentage be maintained in the higher as well as in the lower grades. In the second place, we confess we are unable to understand the *raison d'être* of an "uncovenanted civilian" element, in addition to the "military civilians" and the covenanted civilians, in any Commission. *A priori*, the Covenanted Civil Service seems to have a right to expect a monopoly of these appointments, inasmuch as its members have been selected in England for the very purpose, and by the method which has been authoritatively and finally declared to be the best and only proper one. Special circumstances, as we have shown, fairly bar this right, so far as to allow of the employment of as many military officers as may be deemed necessary and right, but in the absence of such special circumstances, the *a priori* right ought to be respected. On the whole, it seems to us that the settlement which is urgently needed to set these disputes

at rest for ever, must ultimately take something of this form—rules will have to be issued, showing exactly what classes of persons, and how many of each class, in each grade, may lawfully be employed in the administration of the various non-regulation provinces. With these inoffensive and wholesome restrictions, the whole patronage will doubtless be left to the unfettered discretion of the Indian Governments. With the constitution of the *personnel* of the administrations on this definite footing, all class differences and jealousies should be entirely lost sight of, every officer who has once joined a commission should have an indefeasible right to absolutely equal treatment with his fellows, and to promotion in accordance with his merits as vacancies occur, except in cases of misconduct or incompetence, “supersession” should be as impossible in the non-regulation districts, as it is supposed to be in the regulation provinces.

We come, in the third and last place, to those appointments which require a scientific or technical training, and here again we think that a hard and fast line should be drawn as to the possession of the right of patronage. In by far the larger number of cases—we would instance the Educational, the Geological, and similar Departments—the scientific or technical training that is required can only be obtained in Europe, and for all such places it is obvious that the patronage should rest solely with the Secretary of State, and should be exercised only in England. In a few cases—*eg*, in some legal appointments, which are naturally looked upon as the rewards of an able and intelligent local Bar—the technical training is best acquired in India, and appointments to these places will doubtless be best made by the local authorities. But here, as elsewhere, a *rule* is wanted, and this rule should also stipulate for the possession of certain recognised qualifications by the nominee in each case. Constitutional checks and safeguards are the pride of the English method of government, and the Indian Governments may most fairly demand that the nominees of the Secretary of State should be able to present, in every case where such a thing is possible some tangible certificate of their presumable fitness for their particular work. Such a certificate is furnished, for the Covenanted Civil Service, by the Dean's Yard examiners. For the Educational Department, the rule (which has, we believe, in practice always been adhered to by the Secretary of State) that every nominee must be a graduate *in honours* of one of the home Universities, should be laid down in precise terms. For the Geological Department, the *testamurs* of the natural science (Geological) examiners at the Universities, or the certificates of the professors of Jermyn Street, may fairly be demanded. And so on for the other scientific and technical departments. Moreover a code of rules such those we have suggested, would also contain

a distinct statement (as proposed for the non-regulation administrations) of the rights of nominees with regard to promotion, and would doubtless render impossible such an appointment as that of Mr Cordery to the Directorship of Public Instruction in the Panjáb—an appointment by which the whole Panjáb Educational Department has recently been aggrieved and insulted by a wholesale and general supersession in favour of a gentleman entirely unconnected with the Service

The somewhat invidious nature of our position here in India and the comparatively high terms in many cases offered (to be paid out of Indian taxation) in the hope of attracting really good men, render it especially necessary that the purity of Indian appointments should be, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion. It is, we venture to think, obvious that this desirable consummation can only be obtained by some such device as that of a definite and inelastic code of rules such as that we have suggested. Until some measure of this kind is adopted—however immaculately honest and patriotic may be, in reality, the intentions and the practice of our rulers—we shall not cease to hear those sneers about "taking care of Dowb," those terrible whispers about "somebody's cousins" and "brothers-in-law," those scarcely-disguised charges of nepotism and favouritism, which have been so rife of late, and which tend so painfully to stultify our pharisaical English professions, and to throw discredit on our English rule in India.

The Muhammadan Faith

AMONG the topics of the quarter, there are few who will deny that the Muhammadan Faith has been perhaps the most prominent. What does the Muhammadan believe? Is he compelled by the very nature of his creed to live in a state of chronic hostility to the established order of things? These and similar questions have been brought forward and discussed again and again, and they are, even yet, only resting in an uneasy slumber. A very small matter would awaken them into all their former activity. We think, then, it will not be devoid of interest to give a short account of the various sources whence the Musalmán derives his rules of faith and practice. The Orientalist will smile at the (to him) very obvious facts we shall have to include in a brief notice like the present, but we are writing for the benefit of the unlearned, who regard Oriental studies with that aversion which they undoubtedly deserve from their intrinsic dreariness.

The orthodox Musalmán then must entirely repudiate the notion that the Korán was composed by the Prophet or by any other for him. The Korán is eternal and uncreated; and the first transcript of it has been from everlasting by the throne of God,

written out on a table of immense size, called "The Preserved Table," in which are also recorded the divine decrees, past and future. A copy from this table written in one volume on paper, was brought down to the lowest heaven, by the angel Gabriel in the month of Ramadan on the night of power, and thence Gabriel revealed it, bit by bit, to Muhammad, as the exigencies of circumstances demanded it.*

According to the Musalmán tradition the first verses of the Koran which were communicated to the Prophet, were these, "Read in the name of thy Lord who hath created man of congealed blood." Gabriel announced them to the Prophet in a cave of Mount Harah, near to the city of Mecca. Muhammad was obliged to confess that he could not read, and was unable to understand a word of that which was written in the volume presented to him. The angel at once miraculously inspired him with the power to read, and from that time, for the space of twenty-three years, further revelations continued to be made, sometimes at Mecca and sometimes at Medina. But though the Korán was thus communicated in fragments, the Prophet was permitted to enjoy the consolation of seeing the whole once a year, in the shape of a magnificent volume bound in silk, and adorned with gold and precious stones. On the last year of his life he enjoyed this privilege twice.

As each revelation was communicated to the Prophet, he recited it to some of the companions or followers who happened to be present, and it was generally committed to writing by some one amongst them, upon palm leaves, leather, stones, or any other materials which chanced to be at hand. During the Prophet's life-time, no attempt was made to arrange them upon any system. We have no evidence to show that he took any special measures to preserve them from being destroyed, trusting, it would seem, to the marvellous tenacity of the Arab memory for their preservation.

At that time, it must be remembered the practise of writing books was rare among the Arabs. The history of the different tribes, their genealogies, their poetry, were preserved by the aid of memory alone, and thus transmitted down from one generation to another. A highly educated man of that time was one who carried about in his head the history, genealogies, adventures,

* The Prophet records this descent in these words — "Verily we sent down the Korán in the night of Al-kadr (i.e. power). And what shall make thee understand how excellent the night of Al Kadr is? The night of Al Kadr is better than a thousand

months. Therein do the angels descend, and the Spirit Gabriel also, by the permission of their Lord with his decrees concerning every matter. It is peace until the rising of the morn. Sura xcvi.

idioms, and in a word, all the characteristics which distinguished the various desert tribes from each other. Thus Ibn Khallikan relates the following of Hammad ar-Rawia (i.e., the narrator), "one of the best informed of men" — "Being one day present at a public audience given by the Khalif Abdul-melek he was asked by that prince in what way he merited the surname of 'the narrator,' and he returned this answer—'Because I can recite the poems of every poet whom you, O Commander of the Faithful' have ever known or heard of, and I can rehearse, moreover, the compositions of many poets whom you will acknowledge that you did not know, neither did you hear of, and no one can quote to me passages of ancient and modern poetry without my being able to tell the ancient from the modern.' The Khalif then asked him how much poetry he knew by heart, and Hammad replied, 'A great deal more than I can tell, but I can recite to you for each letter of the alphabet, one hundred long poems rhyming in that letter, without taking into account the short pieces, and all these composed exclusively by poets who lived before the promulgation of Islam.' On this the Khalif told him that he intended to make a trial of his talent, and he ordered him therefore to begin his recitations. Hammad commenced and continued till the Khalif having grown fatigued withdrew, after leaving a person in his place to verify the truth of the assertion, and hear him to the last. In that sitting he recited two thousand one hundred *kasidas* by poets who flourished before Muhammad, and the Khalif, on being informed of the fact, ordered him a present of one hundred thousand dirhems." Among a people thus abnormally gifted, trusting the preservation of his revelations to the memory merely, was not so wild an experiment on the part of the Prophet as it seems to us. It became a mark of honour to know the Koran by heart. The person who, in any company, could repeat the Koran with the greatest accuracy, was of right entitled to conduct the public prayers, to a larger share of the spoils won upon the field of battle, and if he fell a martyr of the Crescent, he was honoured with the first burial. And according to early tradition, several of the Prophet's followers could during his life-time repeat the entire revelation without a single omission.

But very shortly after the death of the Prophet was fought the terrible battle of Yemâna against Moseilama—"the Liar," as Muhammad had stigmatised him. The Liar was slain, and his followers dispersed, but the struggle had been desperate and bloody, and so many of the Faithful distinguished by their knowledge of the Koran were slain, that it became apparent a few more such battles would simply eradicate the Koran from the minds of men. Omar urged upon the Khalif Abu Bakr to lose no time in making an authoritative collection of the various fragments of

the Korán "from date leaves, and tablets of white stone and from the breasts of men" This was accordingly done, and the Korán reduced to the order and sequence in which we now find it. This compilation remained the standard text during the Khalifat of Omar.

Thirty years after the Hijrah, in the time of the Khalif Othman, a second revision became necessary. The Korán was intended to be *one*, but it was found to the great scandal of the orthodox that there was great disagreement among the copies of the Korán used in the various provinces of the Arabian empire. This was represented to Othman, and he was urged to provide a remedy and "stop the people before they should differ regarding their scriptures as did the Jews and Christians." He, in consequence, nominated a Committee of Revision, consisting of Zeid Ibn Thabit, a former amanuensis of the Prophet who had collected the fragments of the Korán in the time of Abu Bakr, assisted by three Koreishites. These last were appointed as being skilled in the Meccan dialect, in which the revelations of the Prophet had been originally communicated to men. By this committee a new transcript was made of the Holy Book, copies were multiplied and transmitted to the chief cities of the empire, and the previously existing copies were committed to the flames. In accomplishing this work, the Committee of Revision appear to have worked with the most child-like simplicity. Everything that could be proved to have been uttered by the Prophet in his prophetic character, they regarded as the spoken word of God, possessing as such an intrinsic value which could not be affected by the minor questions of context. Put them in where or how they would, they must remain the word of God still, and as such of quite immeasurable value to men. The consequence is that we have in the Koran (so far at least as one may judge from a translation) a book the most dreary and difficult to read that it is possible to imagine. There is not a glimmering of sequence in it from beginning to end. The reader wanders fatigued and bewildered through a wilderness of interminable repetitions and contradictions without number. The compilers seem indeed to have had quite a genius for arranging their matter in such a manner that almost every statement of any moment should have a flat contradiction following close upon its heels, as, for example a commendation of Christianity linked with a declaration that Christians are doomed to Hell fire, a furious incitement to religious war, immediately followed by a bitter reproof of all violence in religion, or the folly of supposing that whether men do or forbear to do, they can in any way affect the purposes of the Most High. Then there are the same legends, either taken from the past history of Arabia, or distorted from the writings contained in the Old Testament, the same ideas,

the same doctrines repeated over and over again with the most wearisome iteration. The Editor, in short, considered that he had acquitted himself of his task, so soon as he had written out continuously every fragment of speech which could be shown to have the seal of the Prophet upon it, without the least concern for its comparative importance, or the circumstances under which it was spoken. From this one fact it will be seen at once that it is simply impossible to obtain from the Korán a consistent reply to a question about any one duty incumbent upon a faithful Musalman. It certainly passionately exhorts the Faithful to fight in the defence of religion, but it is also most explicit in its declarations of its uselessness, and its reprobation of violence. A peaceably disposed Muhammadan, would never be in need of a reason for the faith that is in him, *e.g.*, "Fight for the religion of God against those who fight against you, but transgress not by attacking them first, for God loveth not the transgressor"—*Sura II*

"If thy Lord had pleased, verily all who are in the earth would have believed in general. *Wilt thou therefore forcibly compel men to be true believers?* No soul can believe but by the permission of God, and he shall pour out his indignation on those who will not understand—*Sura X*

Such verses as these appear to us to express the innermost spirit of Islám—that of resignation to the decrees of an Almighty will, and among the Faithful, this spirit, we are inclined to think, is far stronger than the old aggressive one, which the savage tribal wars of the early Arabs kindled to such a burning heat. Mr Lane, in his delightful book on the "Modern Egyptians," gives his testimony to the same effect—"With the religious zeal of the Muslims" he writes "I am daily struck, yet I have often wondered that they so seldom attempt to make converts to their faith. On my expressing my surprise, as I have frequently done, at their indifference with respect to the propagation of their religion, contrasting it with the conduct of their ancestors of the early ages of El-Islam, I have generally been answered, "Of what use would it be if I could convert a thousand infidels?—would it increase the number of the faithful? By no means, the number of the faithful is decreed by God, and no act of man can increase or diminish it." Nothing could be more strictly logical than this conduct. "Whomsoever," declares the Prophet, "God shall please to direct, he will open his breast to receive the faith of Islám, but whomsoever he shall please to lead into error, he will render his breast straight and narrow as though he was climbing up to heaven." Fatalism is the corner stone of a Musalman's faith.

But, besides the Koran, there is another source whence the Muhammadan derives his principles of conduct, namely, the Traditions. When the Arabs became the lords of a vast empire,

the few simple rules of life laid down in the Korán were speedily found insufficient to cope with the complexities of their new state "Crowded cities," to quote from Sir W. Muir's most valuable work, "like Fostál, Kufa, and Damascus required an elaborate compilation of laws for the guidance of their courts of justice, new political relations demanded a system of international equity. The speculations of a people before whom literature was preparing to throw open her arena, and controversies of eager factions upon nice points of faith, were impatient of the narrow limits which confined them—all called loudly for the enlargement of the scanty and naked dogmas of the Coran, and for the development of its defective code of ethics. And yet it was the cardinal principle of early Islam that the standard of Law, of Theology, and of Politics was the Coran, and the Coran alone. By it Mahomet himself ruled, to it in his teaching he always referred, from it he professed to derive his opinions, and upon it to ground his decisions. If he the Messenger of the Lord and the Founder of the Faith was thus bound by the Coran, much more were the Caliphs, his uninspired substitutes. New and unforeseen circumstances were continually arising, for which the Coran contained no provision. It no longer sufficed for its original object. How, then, were its deficiencies to be supplied? The difficulty was resolved by adopting the custom or "Sunnat" of Mahomet, that is, his *sayings* and his *practice* as a supplement to the Coran. Tradition was thus invested with the force of law and with some of the authority of inspiration.

Men devoted their lives to the business (of collection). They travelled from city to city, and from tribe to tribe, over the whole Mahometan world, sought out by personal inquiry every vestige of Mahomet's biography yet lingering among the *Companions*, the *Successors*, and their descendants, and committed to writing the tales and reminiscences with which they used to edify their wondering and admiring auditors." Besides these two sources, the Korán and the Traditions—there exists a third, the decisions namely of the four great Imáms, Abu Hanífa, As Shafi, Málik, and Ibn Hanbal, pre-eminent both for their abilities and for the number of points which each settled on his own authority, and formed into a body of supplementary doctrines.

The Budget—1872-73

IF Sir Richard Temple is at the present moment the best abused man in all India, he has probably only himself to blame. With opportunities which might fairly be envied, with gifts of fortune which more than compensate for his own want of ability, he is still the most unsuccessful and the most unpopular Finance

Minister that India has ever possessed. Not that we think the country is under no obligation whatever to the Financial Department as at present constituted. With all its faults it has one redeeming virtue, which with a Minister of greater tact, would have gone far to atone for them. That virtue is economy. Whatever may be said to its disadvantage, it cannot be denied that the Financial Department—and it is only fair that its Chief should have the credit—has worked hard and successfully of late years to keep down expenditure. While we are far from thinking that India should be governed by any single Department of the Supreme Government, it is a source of satisfaction that Sir R. Temple knows how to put the screw on, and is not afraid to do it.

But when we have said this, we have probably said all we can in his favour as a Financier. In our comments upon the Budget last year, we drew special attention to the opium estimates and the income-tax. We pointed out that the receipts under the former head were placed at far too low a figure, and we attempted to show that the revenue from this source is more within our own control than is generally supposed. Owing partly to a failure in last year's opium crop, our expectations as to the estimates have been more than justified, and what is perhaps of greater importance, there is evidence in the present Budget that the Financial Department are awakening to the practicability of doing away with much of the uncertainty which ordinarily attaches to this item of revenue. By fixing the number of chests to be sold nearly two years in anticipation and by forming an opium reserve, so that the quantity sold from year to year may not be dependent on the success or failure of any particular crop, the main disturbing elements in estimating the price will in future be removed. If, in addition to these measures, Sir R. Temple would condescend to set off the surplus receipts of one year against the deficit of the next, opium might easily be made as stable as any other item in the Budget. It was in 1866 we believe, that Mr Massey declared of opium that "though a great irregular source of income, it was one capable of being calculated upon data which yield an average income in a series of years."

That the opium estimate has again been placed at too low a figure, we have no hesitation whatever in saying. Looking at the short crop of last year and the consequently limited sales of the present, and taking also into consideration the fact that the number of chests advertised for sale in 1873 is somewhat below the average of past years, our opinion is that if present prices are not maintained, they will not very materially recede. Under any circumstances, Sir Richard would have been fully justified in assuming the average of the past four years, which would give some Rs 75 a chest more than the figure at which he has put it.

In that case of course there would have been no necessity to retain the income tax. Such, however, is the obstinacy of the present Government that, while driven to adopt a very different tone than heretofore, it refuses to recede from the position it has taken up on this question. Though defeated, it will not yield, and a case therefore had to be made out for the continuance of a hated impost which has done, and is doing more to alienate the good-will of the people than the bare-faced spoliation of the most rapacious Oriental despot.

It is sincerely to be hoped for the credit of his own reputation that Sir Richard's claim to be considered a master of finance will not rest upon his "explanation of the cash balances." Anything more weak and pitiable we scarcely recollect ever to have read. That twenty-four millions are not lying idle so far as the tax-payers are concerned, because the Presidency Banks have the use of a great part of the money, is a proposition so ludicrous upon the face of it that no one but Sir Richard we will venture to say, could ever have been guilty of it. But it is only of a piece with the rest of his "explanation" on this subject. It was generally thought that the year began with a somewhat larger cash balance than was absolutely necessary, and Sir Richard actually takes pride in reminding us that the only answer he could make to the criticism of the Council on this point was his assurance "that the present amount of cash balances is not otherwise than satisfactory." With an estimated cash balance at the close of 1872-73 of $17\frac{1}{2}$ millions—an estimate which is just as likely to be 7 millions below the mark as last year—Sir Richard can only again repeat his assurance that "the amount will be found satisfactorily high, though not too high."

On this subject, however, we do think some allowance should be made for Sir Richard's position. It is sufficiently evident that though Finance Minister *in India*, he is not his own master. If he might, he doubtless "could a tale unfold whose lightest word would harrow up the soul." But, like the ghost in *Hamlet*, he is probably forbidden to tell the secrets of his prison-house. And so the Secretary of State and Mr. Secombe may go on spending and borrowing borrowing and spending again, without any financial explanation or check whatever. There is internal evidence in his Statement that even Sir Richard chafes under his fetters, but he is getting used to them, and the gilt is not yet worn off.

Sir R. Temple is very anxious about our exports. As our readers are aware, the Secretary of State draws on this country for some 13 millions annually to defray home charges and guaranteed railway interest. "If the country is to continue satisfactorily to bear these annual drawings of money by England, she must look more and more to disposing of her products to other nations, and to

obtaining thereby the resources which can alone enable her to make the annual payments in England without monetary or other derangement within her own limits" Unfortunately there is only too much truth in this statement. These annual drawings may be said to represent to a large extent the penalty which India has to pay for a foreign administration. Not that India does not get its *quid pro quo* for much, if not all of this amount. A large portion of the 13 millions goes to defray interest on the capital which England has lent to this country, much of which, such as that invested in railways and canals is directly reproductive in India, while even the Home administrative charges may be said to yield an indirect return in the establishment of peace, security, and good government. But the fact remains the same that India has to make an annual payment to England either in specie or in produce, of some 12 or 13 millions yearly. As this country does not yield the precious metals, it is of course to its advantage that this large tribute should be defrayed in produce, and the result is that our exports must always largely exceed our imports, even including imports of treasure. In other words, India's importing power is diminished to the extent of the annual payments made in England. As Sir R Temple says, this is "a politico-economic fact of some gravity," which could only be very inadequately treated in this place. Sir R Temple glanced at its bearing upon the question of exchange, but the extent to which it affects the trade and industry of the country generally is one of those huge problems which can hardly be satisfactorily explained in a bare financial statement.

